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VOLUME ONE, ISSUE FIVE

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Say Goldwater Is
Psychologically
Unfit To Be
President!

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SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1964

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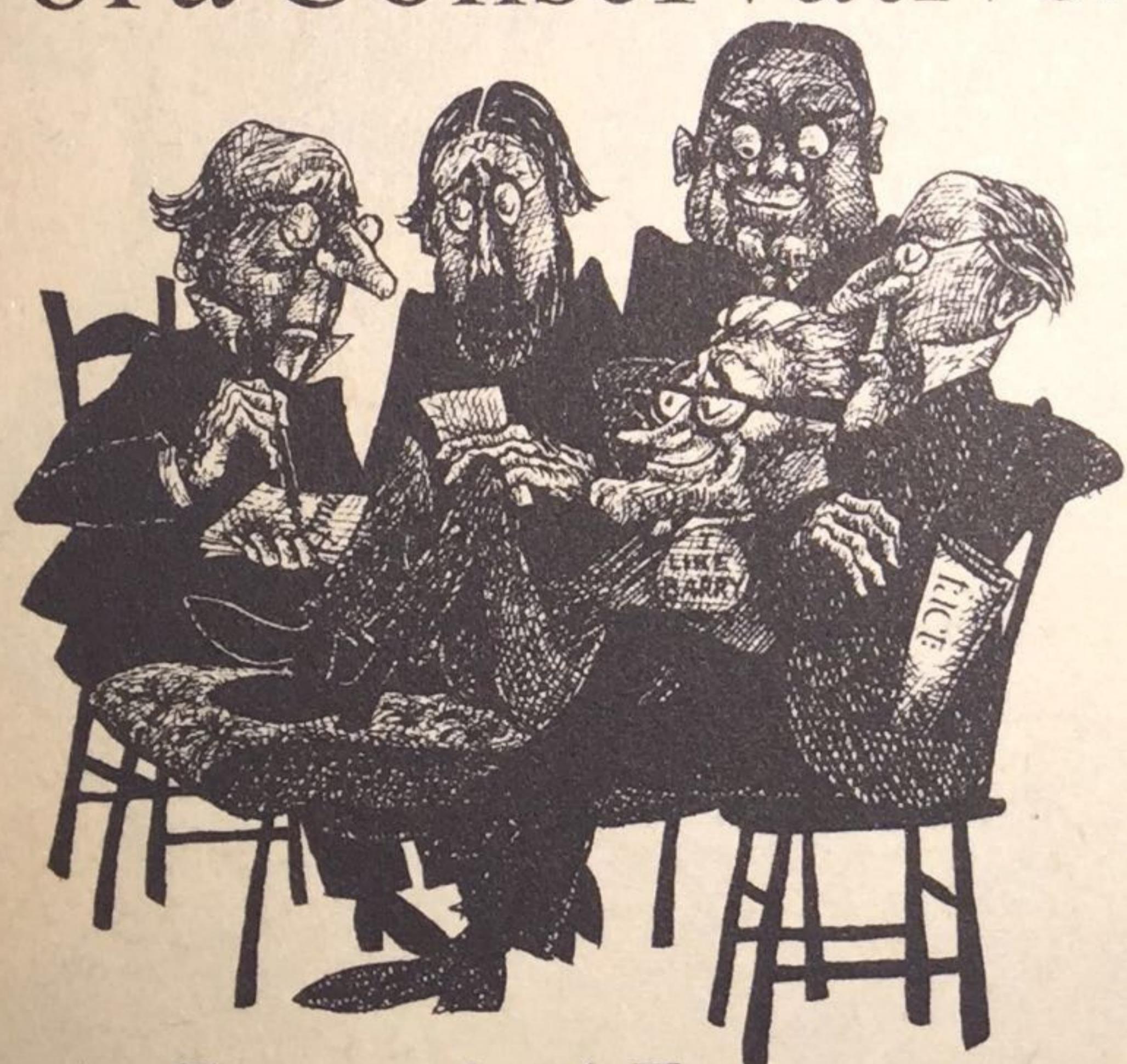
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
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The Unconscious of a Conservative:



A Special Issue on
the Mind of Barry
Goldwater.



I love
Mother
I love
children
I love
little
I love
you
Miller.

Goldwater: The Man and the Menace

By Ralph Ginzburg

That the Senator is divorced from reality is unfortunate; that he may soon be able to divorce all of *us* from reality is terrifying

America is a strong country. She has survived Presidents like Grant and Eisenhower, whose level of intelligence in civilian affairs was what one would expect of Generals, and it has survived a President like Harding, who did not even have the excuse of being a General. It has had the strength to survive paranoiacs like Huey Long, Forrestal, and McCarthy, who achieved such great power and influence in political life that they were seriously considered for the Presidency, and it has survived totalitarian, semi-secret, quasi-military groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Bund, and the Communist Party. But now, for the first time in her history, America is facing an awesome combination of all three threats. In Goldwater's candidacy on a major party ticket, she faces the possibility of electing a President whose grasp of international affairs matches Harding's, whose personality traits are reminiscent of Forrestal's and McCarthy's, and who is backed by a well-organized, blindly ruthless, totalitarian, secretive, and powerful movement.

It is the very combination of these facts that makes an investigation into the mental condition of the Republican candidate so crucial. Goldwater's lack of intelligence in itself would not be catastrophic: An ability to make decisions, combined with good sense, plus a gift for appointing good advisers, could make up for it.

Nor is it a question of mental health per se: Few of the heads of government of any nation at any time can be considered paragons of mental health. Even Goldwater's two nervous breakdowns are not in themselves sufficient cause for panic, although on the basis of them alone Goldwater would be excluded from high positions in the fields he admires most: Big Business, which would refuse to appoint him to a high corporate post, and the Military, which would deny him access to top-security material. But Mr. Goldwater's case is not one of an isolated mental incident, nor is the question merely whether or not he suffers from mental illness. Like physical sickness, mental illness can be a variety of totally different afflictions, some of which would have no significant bearing on the Presidency. Roosevelt's polio, Eisenhower's and Johnson's cardiac conditions, and Kennedy's back injury did not prevent them from functioning as Presidents, though Wilson's paralysis did. By the same token, certain mental illnesses can have little effect on a leader's efficacy, while others are intolerable and dangerous.

Mr. Goldwater's illness is not just an emotional maladjustment, or a mild neurosis, or a queerness. As emphatically stated by many of the leading psychiatrists in this country (see page 24 of this issue), the pattern of his behavior is ominous. From his sadistic childhood

pranks to his cruel practical jokes today, from his nervous breakdowns under pressure in his twenties to his present-day withdrawals and escapes in time of crisis, from his obsessive preoccupation with firearms in his youth to his present fantasies about brandishing nuclear weapons to scare his enemies, from his conviction that he is surrounded by deadly enemies at home—whether Reuther, Rockefeller, the American Press, or Someone Who is Out to Kill Him—to his belief that every Russian ballerina is a spy, he shows unmistakable symptoms of paranoia. The paranoid has delusions of persecution. In many areas he is completely divorced from reality. He paints a picture of the world which fits his needs—a world in which he and a few faithful are the “good guys” and all the other “bad guys” have to be annihilated. He sees enemies everywhere, trusts no one completely, and suspects even his closest friends of betraying him. He is rigid and dogmatic in his beliefs and cannot tolerate ambiguities, is obstinate, uncompromising, and rebellious not for the sake of principle but for fear that a show of imagined weakness would permit his enemies to take advantage of him. And he is willing to pay with his own life—and with the lives of others—in order to prove that he is fearless and strong. Clearly, paranoia is not just *any* mental disease. In a leader who commands the most powerful nation and the most destructive arsenal in history it constitutes nothing short of mortal danger to mankind. A little over 30 years ago a paranoid with a charismatic effect on his audiences, supported by an extremist, highly patriotic group, was *democratically* elected to the highest executive position in the government of his country. His name was Adolf Hitler.

Is it possible to determine conclusively, without a psychiatric interview, on the basis of what is known about him, whether Goldwater is paranoid? The life and actions of a Presidential candidate are so completely exposed through TV, through press interviews both with himself and with members of his family, and through the endless study of his past by friends and enemies, that a comprehensive psychiatric portrait definitely does emerge. But one need

not subscribe to psychiatric theories to believe that something is emotionally disturbed man who can describe Russia—in his book *Not Victory?*—as a “giant of a man, maybe feet ten inches tall, weighing 275 pounds, and hard as nails, who with one swipe of hand could render me ‘hors de combat.’” The giant never bothered me because I had my possession a pistol. . . .” And one need know the name of Freud in order to wonder whether a man who constantly and compulsively must prove his daring and masculinity is man fit to lead America and the world in the day of the Bomb. All one has to do is look at the record—the life-record of Barry Goldwater to date, a record compiled mostly by his friends and admirers. It speaks for itself.

* * *

Biographies of Barry Goldwater always carry on for page after page about his grandfather, “Big Mike” Goldwater (Goldwasser), the rascally, snortin’, rootin’-tootin’ Russian immigrant who went West and founded the Goldwater department stores, and the man who, biographers are convinced, the Senator obviously takes after. “Big Mike,” who died three years before his grandson was born, could hardly have had great influence on Barry. But his father, who obviously affected the course of his life much more, is almost ignored by all the biographies, and by Barry Goldwater himself. Perhaps the fact that the Senator’s father, Baron Goldwater, was effeminate, tyrannical, and hostile toward his children has something to do with this oversight. Baron Goldwater was “small and elegant” (*New York Times*, 7/16/64), and “a somewhat reserved, fastidious man” (*Portrait of an Aristocrat*, Edwin McDowell, p. 46). His older brothers “criticized him . . . for using cologne” (*Barry Goldwater: Freedom Is His Flight Plan*, Stephen Shadegg, p. 41). He was “always sartorially elegant in a winged collar, waistcoat, and pince-nez glasses” (*Barry Goldwater: A New Look at a Presidential Candidate*, James M. Perry, p. 21), and “as the dandy of the day, his one-color outfits were the talk of the town” (*Mr. Conservative: Barry Goldwater*, Jack Bell, pp. 30-31). His favorite sport, his only sport,

was card-playing. "Baron detested the outdoors; he didn't like to get his hands dirty" (Perry, p. 24). "He was not athletically inclined . . . the slap of shuffling cards was his own Pied Piper" (*Barry Goldwater: The Biography of a Conservative*, Rob Wood and Dean Smith, p. 35). And when he wasn't playing poker with the boys, he would be drinking with them at the splendid bar he had had installed in his home. ". . . friends of his bachelor days invariably stopped by for a drink" (Shadegg, p. 49).

Toward his three children—Barry, Robert, and Carolyn—Baron was cold and remote. His only concern seems to have been that they keep quiet around the house. Josephine Goldwater ("Mun"), his wife, who is still alive, explains that Baron "was always slightly intimidated by them" (Shadegg, p. 48). He "was never close to his children" (Perry, p. 21).

Baron's oldest son "never really had become well acquainted with his father" (McDowell, p. 56), and the Senator himself says as much: "I never really knew my father. I respected him" (Shadegg, p. 49). On another occasion, speaking of his uncle Morris, Barry Goldwater said: "I was raised more by my uncle than by my father" (Bell, p. 45).

* * *

Baron Goldwater's nickname was "Barry," the name given to his oldest son, and once in a while this caused some confusion:

"Mun never had any trouble," Barry says, "she never spoke to Dad in the same tone of voice she reserved for us youngsters. But when I was growing up I fought the idea of being called 'little Barry.' " (Shadegg, p. 48)

The Senator also recalls:

"When I was just six or seven, I can remember Dad coming home from the store in the middle of the afternoon to change his shirt. He never learned to drive a car, never performed any physical labor if he could hire someone to do the work for him." (Shadegg, p. 48)

The Senator himself, it might be mentioned here, has had an adolescent mania for mechanics ever since childhood, and today he drives not only a Corvette Sting Ray polluted with gadgets, but all sorts of aircraft.

Curiously, there is one memory that Barry

Goldwater has of his father that is still sharp and vivid, a memory that he talks about at length. One Fourth of July (incidentally, the birthday of Goldwater's brother Robert, 18 months younger), the 9-year-old Barry Goldwater took a revolver and emptied it into the ceiling of his home.

The noise created quite a commotion at that hour of the morning. . . . Mun, awakened by the noise, called her neighbors to say that it was just Barry celebrating the Fourth of July. Her husband, shocked by the noise and somewhat startled to see his nine-year-old boy with a smoking revolver in his hand, pretended he had not been affected by the unusual action until the ceiling overhead began to drip whiskey. The random shots had found an unfortunate target. Baron had two kegs carefully stored on the second floor where he believed the summer heat would aid in the aging.

"It's a tough thing to get punished for an accident," Barry says now. **"There would have been no penalty for firing the gun or making the noise or waking up the neighborhood, but because I accidentally spilled his booze, I caught it something fierce."** (Shadegg, p. 50)

Senator Goldwater sums up his feelings about his father this way: "I would never be where I am today if it had not been for my mother, my family, my wife—and" . . . no, *not* his father, but "my wonderful environment" (*Saturday Evening Post*, 8/15/64).

Contributing to the estrangement between the Goldwaters, father and son, may have been their religions. Baron Goldwater was Jewish, had attended a synagogue in San Francisco, and although Phoenix had no synagogue and he married an Episcopalian, he "never renounced his faith" (McDowell, p. 57). He even closed the Goldwater stores on Jewish holidays (*Time*, 8/28/64). His son was baptised, raised as an Episcopalian, probably was never circumcised, and reports, "I was told I was an Episcopalian before I was told I was a Jew" (*New York Post*, 6/15/64). In this context, two things will be pointed out. First, ". . . it should be noted that many Arizona resorts traditionally have barred Jewish members or guests—and there is no record of the Senator raising any fuss over this open discrimination" (*N.Y. Post*, 6/15/64); second, the December, 1963, issue of *Pageant* magazine quotes Senator Goldwater as having

said, on a Washington radio station, that "It is very difficult for me to understand the Jew. . . . The greatest enemy of the Jew in the world has been the Democratic party and their stupid treaties they've made with other countries. . . . That's why I can't understand Jewish friends of mine, in the big cities, going all out for the Democrats."

Obviously, the Senator does not identify with the Jewish part of his heritage, but exclusively with his mother's. (As George Jessel has said, "There is only one thing I have in common with Barry Goldwater. We are both ashamed of the fact that he is Jewish.")

The Senator's mother, Josephine Goldwater, had been brought up with several older brothers, and had been a schoolteacher and a nurse before she went West and met and married Baron Goldwater. She was 31 at the time, and was interested in many masculine pursuits which held no interest for her husband. "She smoked in public when it was considered unladylike to do so. And she wore knickers on the golf course when, in her late 30's, she took up golf (and went on to win the Arizona Women's Amateur Championship)" (McDowell, pp. 56-57). "She was one of the first women in Phoenix to drive an automobile" (*Life*, 7/12/63). "She rode horseback and encouraged the youngsters to ride" (Shadegg, p. 50), and "She taught her children how to play [golf]" (*Life*). Mrs. Goldwater herself says, "I even played baseball with them. Back in Waco, Nebraska, I was the only girl on my hometown baseball team. I was known as the Blue Racer. I could knock the ball a mile and run like blazes" (*Life*). The Senator adds, "It was Mun who took us camping, it was Mun who taught us to shoot. It was Mun who led us into the unexplored areas of Northern Arizona" (Shadegg, p. 49). She was also adept at poker, and when her oldest son "brought his friends home for a game, Senator Goldwater recalls, 'She would get up and the next thing you knew she had all the money'" (*Times*, 7/16/64). An accomplished sharpshooter, Mrs. Goldwater always kept a revolver beneath her pillow at night (Shadegg, p. 50). At 89, Josephine Goldwater is still running like blazes. Inter-

viewed recently, she was photographed long cigarette holder in her mouth. "I reached for a cigarette, a visitor offered it for her. 'No, thank you,' she declared, 'I do that myself. I'm strong as a man'" (*7/16/64*).

* * *

Whereas Barry Goldwater and his father were quite distant, he and his mother "were quite close" (*Life*). "I can't remember any time when Lyn, Bob or I kept any secrets from Mun," Senator recalls (Shadegg, p. 49). When Goldwater got married and moved into his new Phoenix home, Mun moved in next door (Wood & Smith, p. 66). So profound has his mother's influence been over the Senator that he still now drinks coffee—"a ban imposed by his mother who thought it would stunt his growth" (*7/16/61*). Possibly the anecdote that follows best sums up Goldwater's relationship with his mother. When he was a teen-ager, Goldwater decided to learn how to fly.

... Barry still suffers from a sense of guilt over his student days.... "My early lessons all began at six o'clock in the morning. I would sneak out of the house, go to the airport, fly for an hour and be in the store long before it opened. But I didn't tell Mun what I was doing. It's only secret I tried to keep from her."

Barry's mother was not deceived....

She learned the secret of Barry's early morning partures when a piece in the local newspaper announced that Barry Goldwater had acquired a private pilot's license.

"When he came home," Mun says, "I asked him if he thought I was too old to share his ambitions."

Barry never again kept anything from his mother (Shadegg, p. 68)

Understandably, today Goldwater is wont to complain, "I can remember when 'conservative' and 'mother' were clean words" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 2/12/62).

Mrs. Goldwater set high standards for her first-born. She once told him, "Never enter a race you can't win. If you lose, don't talk to me about it" (Wood & Smith, p. 14). "Mrs. Goldwater thinks now perhaps she demanded more of Barry [than of her other children]. 'He was the first, so we tried to make him perfect'" (*Life*). Unhappily, Goldwater turned out to

a little less than perfect. "I said young Goldwater was a streak of me out in occasional embarrassments. I appropriated a tearful owner's bicycle belonging to it, and hid the Smith, p. 39). A 10-gauge shotgun the street from the odist Church, and Barry would load the trigger" (Perry,

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Young Goldwater street-gang figure been the main weapon—rock introduced, Barry innovation" (Wood & Smith, p. 57). Mother, with despair. "Look at Barry that she on their first involvement with Shadegg, p. 57)

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a little less than perfect. "There were those who said young Goldwater was headed for juvenile delinquency" (Wood & Smith, p. 44). "There was a streak of meanness in him and it cropped out in occasional pranks designed to annoy or embarrass a playmate. More than once he appropriated bicycles and hid them from their tearful owners. In one such escapade, he took a bike belonging to Ray Johnson . . . dismantled it, and hid the parts in his attic" (Wood & Smith, p. 39). A prized possession of his was a 10-gauge shotgun, mounted on wheels. Across the street from his home was the Central Methodist Church, and "In the middle of the service, Barry would load the cannon, and yank the trigger" (Perry, p. 23).

One night, to commemorate his mother's birthday, he hauled the homemade cannon up to the second-floor porch of the family house, facing the Central Methodist Church across the street. Barry loaded up with live ammunition, pulled the lanyard just as vespers ended, demolished the porch railing and salted the worshippers as they ran for cover. (Time, 6/23/61)

Young Goldwater also took great pleasure in street-gang fights. Mud balls for a long time had been the main weapon. "When the ultimate weapon—rocks inside the mud balls—was introduced, Barry's inventive mind was behind the innovation" (Wood & Smith, p. 39). Even his mother, with all her high hopes, began to despair. "Long after he was married, Mun told Barry that she and Baron had almost given up on their first-born because of his almost daily involvement in some sort of fist fight" (Shadegg, p. 57).

Those psychoanalysts who find a connection between sadism and an anal character will not be surprised that bathrooms seemed to fascinate young Goldwater. Interested even then in long-distance communications, he set up a radio transmitter, and "wired everything in sight, from toilet seats to his bed headboard" (Time, 6/23/61). Also interested in photography, "He was an expert at taking candid photographs of people in embarrassing situations" (Wood & Smith, p. 44)—and it's easy to guess what those "embarrassing situations" were. Once he rigged up a microphone and a loudspeaker

so he could talk to anyone in the bathroom. It is not hard to imagine the shock of young female visitors in the Goldwater house when Barry's voice would suddenly interrupt the quiet of the bathroom with a hearty "Hi there, honey—what's new?" (Wood & Smith, p. 42)

* * *

Goldwater's mother, having been a school-teacher, hoped her son would become another John Stuart Mill, and she tried "to interest Barry in reading Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' before he was eight years old" (Shadegg, p. 50). She soon learned better—speaking of Robert, her younger son, she once commented, "Bob knew more than Barry ever thought of knowing" (Life). Indeed, it's quite clear that, as far as intellectual endowment is concerned, Goldwater can be compared only with Warren Gamaliel Harding, of whom William Allen White once said, "Hearing him speak before a Rotary Club, one could almost be convinced that he had human intelligence." Even now Goldwater is touchy about his intelligence. Although he has publicly wondered if he had "the brains to be President," when asked to clarify this remark, "he replied sharply: 'I've done all right in my life. I don't have a Phi Beta Kappa key, but I hire them'" (Times, 7/16/64). When introduced to someone with a Ph.D., Goldwater is likely to mention that he has been planning to take the Great Books Course (New Republic, 7/20/63). And after he retires, "most of all, I want to go back to college and get my degree" (Newsweek, 4/10/61).

Young Goldwater was painfully aware that his brother Bob knew more than he ever thought of knowing. "Had it not been for the irksome fact of his brilliant brother Bob, Barry wouldn't have given his classroom failures a second thought" (Wood & Smith, p. 45).

Carolyn Goldwater has said of her famous brother, "I don't think he ever read a book growing up" (Time, 6/23/61), and Goldwater's teachers would have wholeheartedly agreed. Goldwater went to Fillmore Public School for grades one, two, and three, then on to Monroe for grades four through six. "Never an especially good student, he was content to get by. Bob, on the other hand, was so bright that he

skipped two half grades and by the time Barry was ready to start seventh grade at Kenilworth, Bob had caught up with him" (Wood & Smith, p. 41). After graduating from Kenilworth—helped along by his brother, who did his mathematics homework for him (Wood & Smith, p. 41)—Goldwater enrolled at the Phoenix high school. By the end of the first semester the principal invited Papa Goldwater in for a chat. The Senator recalls, "He told my dad that, although he wouldn't exactly say I was flunking out, he would suggest I not come back to Phoenix Union in the fall" (Wood & Smith, p. 45). His mother recalls, "They told us that he should become a priest, because the only thing he was any good at was Latin" (*Time*, 6/23/61). Goldwater's high-school record showed "two flunked courses and barely-passing grades in a couple of others" (Bell, p. 34), but, unfortunately, "His record at the high school has been informally impounded; his grades are no one's business, a school official said recently" (Perry, p. 24).

Not only was Goldwater a problem child in school, he was also a problem around the house. As he says, "I imagine I was getting a little hard to handle" (McDowell, p. 54). So "Baron decided to enroll his son in Staunton (Va.) Military Academy, where he felt the rigorous physical and academic discipline would straighten out Barry's wayward ways" (McDowell, p. 54). At Staunton, Goldwater repeated his freshman year and "academy officials repeatedly asked Baron Goldwater to take back his undisciplined heir" (*Time*, 6/23/61). "To hear him tell it, he spent most of his time there marching off the demerits he collected at every turn" (Bell, p. 34). According to Goldwater's military commander, "There were times when we thought we would never get him through this school" (*New Republic*, 11/23/63).

* * *

Barry Goldwater marched off to the University of Colorado in the fall of 1928—brother Bob was now a full year ahead, at the University of Illinois. The Senator distinguished himself immediately. During the very first semester, he was dropped from the university for cutting

too many classes (Drew Pearson, 7/14/64). He was later reinstated, but never finished the new semester. Goldwater backers even at the moment are insisting that the Senator left the university because his father died, but Goldwater himself knows better. His own one-time political henchman, Stephen Shadegg, has written:

The family now says Barry left school immediately following his father's death to come home and should a portion of the burden of responsibility in the store. This is probably more fiction than fact. The store was under the capable management of Sam Wilson. (Shadegg, p. 6)

Goldwater himself, in 1960, told a graduating class at Staunton Academy:

"I went part of a year to a university. I could easily see that early age that I'd probably be the next twenty years getting out. Therefore, I gave it up and went to work" (Bell, p. 35)

His mother has recalled: "He came home from college and said . . . , 'Don't I know enough to live without going back to school? Do I have to go back?' I said he didn't" (*Life*). So Goldwater remained at home and announced, "The man of the house now" (*Pageant*, 12/63).

The next few years, Goldwater worked in the family department store and didn't go out with girls. When Shadegg showed Goldwater the biography he wrote about him, Goldwater read the line: "Girls have always been susceptible to the charm of Baron Goldwater's oldest son." The Senator noted, in red pencil, "Very doubtful from experience" (Shadegg, p. 72). It was also about this time that Goldwater began taking flying lessons—the reader will remember that "the man of the house now" did it on the sly, without telling his mother. Mrs. Goldwater, however, became suspicious. Goldwater recalls "Mum never asked me what I was doing up that hour, and I didn't tell her. I found out later that she thought I was visiting a woman—as I would do such a thing!" (McDowell, p. 62)

In 1932, Barry Goldwater was introduced to Margaret Johnson from Muncie, Indiana, who was heiress-apparent to the Borg-Warner fortune. Peggy recalls that when she met the future Republican candidate for President of the United States, "she was not particularly im-

pressed" (She thought he served" (ibid. didn't make water left it) (Wood & S. several months water decided courtship, he she accepted speech of you, but I to run. It's tremist of them were married changed herian.

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Mrs. wife for the Peggy sub-husband's more interesting is in social she says, "I know her. Her sister Barry said Peggy would

The born in 1928 son was 16. Another daughter

Tow "an old-fashioned, 11/63 recalls days when went" (Education

pressed" (Shadegg, p. 72). As for Goldwater, he thought she was "extremely shy and reserved" (*ibid.*). At first, says Peggy, "Barry didn't make any fuss over me" (*ibid.*). Goldwater left it to her "to cultivate the relationship" (Wood & Smith, p. 65). Peggy left Phoenix for several months, and when she returned Goldwater decided to make his pitch. After a 2-week courtship, he proposed; after a discreet interval, she accepted. Goldwater's passionately romantic speech consisted of these lines: "Look, I love you, but I can't keep this up. I have a business to run. It's got to be yes or no—right now" (*Extremist of the Right*, Fred J. Cook, p. 40). They were married in 1934 and Mrs. Goldwater changed her religion from Baptist to Episcopalian.

Weepy, timid, and frail, Peggy Goldwater "is one of the shyest and most withdrawn wives in American politics" (*Times*, 7/16/64). "She favors severe dresses" (*Good Housekeeping*, 5/64). A friend, Eleanor Libby, says, "she lacks self-confidence" (*G.H.*), and Peggy herself says, "I'll never make speeches or address women's clubs or any of that. I guess you'd say I'm naturally shy" (*G.H.*).

Mrs. Goldwater is certainly the perfect wife for the Senator. "The degree to which Peggy subordinates her own life to that of her husband's is remarkable" (*G.H.*). "She is far more interested in her home and family than she is in social problems or in politics" (*G.H.*). As she says, "I never try to tell him not to do what I know he wants to do" (*N.Y. Post*, 7/19/64). Her sister-in-law, Alice Johnson, maintains, "If Barry said he'd crawl across the Sahara Desert, Peggy would do it with him" (*G.H.*).

The first of the Goldwater children was born in 1936. A girl, she was named Joanne. A son was born in 1938 and named Barry Jr. Another son, Michael, was born in 1940, and another daughter, Margaret, in 1944.

Toward his children Goldwater has been "an old-fashioned patriarch" (*Good Housekeeping*, 11/62). "Daddy ruled with an iron hand," recalls daughter Joanne, "and whatever he said went" (*Esquire*, 10/62). "He's been the disciplinarian," says son Michael (*G.H.*, 11/62).

Barry Jr. is easily the most intriguing of the Goldwater children. "Barry Goldwater's relationship with his oldest son has not been relaxed as with Joanne" (*Esquire*). The Senator seems to have been rather antagonistic and reserved toward Barry Jr., as though he were a rival. And Goldwater has never laid a hand on any of the children except for his oldest son:

"One time I got in Dad's darkroom and messed things up. I was ten. He cuffed me—well, he knocked heck out of me. I never will forget that." (*G.H.*, 11/62)

When Barry Jr. was attending the University of Colorado he suddenly became quite "nervous" (*Esquire*) and had to drop out of school. "I had no interest, no sense of direction, and no desire. I was in trouble, and the worst thing was that Dad was really never there physically when I needed him most. He did write me some beautiful letters, though" (*G.H.*, 11/62). Barry Jr. has also said, "The only fatherly advice I ever really got has been through letters" (*Esquire*).

Understandably, Goldwater's oldest son doesn't rah-rah his father the way the other children do. When brother Mike told a reporter, "We're both sympathetic to Dad's views," Barry Jr. protested: "We've never been exposed to the views of the other side" (*G.H.*, 11/62). And Mrs. Goldwater tells this remarkable anecdote:

"At the store, when Barry, Jr. worked for the summer in the credit department, he would call up someone and not say 'This is Barry Goldwater, Jr.' Instead, he would say 'This is Barry Morris.' Imagine! He wouldn't use his own name." (*G.H.*, 11/62)

The parallels between the way Baron Goldwater treated his oldest son, and the way Barry Goldwater treated his oldest son, are worth noting. Baron was distant and reserved toward Barry, and Barry was distant and reserved toward Barry Jr. Baron beat up Barry when Barry was 9; Barry beat up Barry Jr. when Barry Jr. was 10. The similarities between father and son even include bouts with "nervousness" during their youth.

It was Mrs. Goldwater who brought public attention to the fact that her husband had had two nervous breakdowns—one after the birth of their first child, the second after the birth of

Barry Jr. The reference appeared in the May, 1964, issue of *Good Housekeeping*, in a profile of Mrs. Goldwater written by Al Toffler:

One crisis occurred in 1937 when, after a period of intense work in the store, Barry suffered a nervous breakdown. After a lengthy rest, he went back to work. But two years later, when he went to Prescott, Arizona, to help open a new branch of the store, and spent five days and nights without sleep, he cracked again. "His nerves broke completely," says Mrs. Goldwater. "He couldn't sleep nights. He was very nervous. I immediately said we were going to get away to Honolulu. He was seasick all the way. But then he relaxed on the beach and just rested." The change of pace was, apparently, all he needed.

Senator Goldwater has said that his wife used the term "nervous breakdown" loosely during this interview, and denies that he ever had a nervous breakdown (*Parade*, 8/23/64). His physician, Dr. Leslie R. Kober of Phoenix, is even more forceful: "Barry Goldwater never suffered a nervous breakdown in 1937, 1939, or at any other time. . . . A few times he has been physically exhausted from his work, but so has everyone" (*Parade*). To be charitable, let us say that Senator Goldwater and his physician must be awfully forgetful. Because there are *three other sources* that testify to the fact that Goldwater has had nervous breakdowns.

The first: the December, 1959, issue of *Pageant Magazine*, in which Al Toffler (again) writes:

In 1936, after a stretch of intensely hard work in the family store, Goldwater suffered a nervous breakdown. Following a period of rest he returned to the business, took on the presidency of the company, and plunged in again. Two years later, when he went to Prescott, Arizona, to open a new branch, Goldwater worked five days and five nights without any sleep. On the fifth night, he recalls, "I just blew my stack."

When a doctor told him he wouldn't have long to live unless he slowed down, Goldwater taught himself to take cat-naps and tried to bridle his temper. He has never had a third breakdown, but he is still faintly tense and can fly into a tantrum on provocation. . . .

It is especially noteworthy that the author—and this was as recently as 1959—went on to write:

Today the sound of crackling ice or the crunch of teeth into a slice of crisp toast can set him on edge.

The second source: page 51 of that admiring biography, *Barry Goldwater: The Biography of a Conservative*, by Rob Wood and Dec Smith. They write:

As business pressures mounted, Barry tried to meet the challenge by working day and night. He was short-tempered and couldn't sleep. Finally, after a particularly brutal period of overwork in 1936, he had a mild nervous breakdown. After a long rest he returned to the store, only to crack again two years later. Doctor warned him that his life might be a short one if he didn't learn to relax. Barry tried taking cat naps. He learned to hold his temper in check.

The third source: the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which has quoted Barry Goldwater Jr. as saying, "My father did have one breakdown when he was 26 years old. But he had been working too hard and it was strictly physical. It was not mental."

* * *

Had Goldwater consulted a psychotherapist at the time, however, he would have learned that overwork *never* causes a nervous breakdown. A nervous breakdown is a lay term that covers a variety of mental illnesses, and a mental illness is just that—a mental, not a physical, illness.

It is worth pointing out that in recent years Goldwater has also had some rather unusual ailments:

[In 1957] Goldwater had complained about pains in his arms and wrists and aches in his back. . . . Dr. Travell treated him from time to time as the unexpected and sometimes very painful attacks overtook him. (Bell, pp. 137-138)

Goldwater "at the time refused to reveal the exact nature of the ailment" (*Times*, 7/21/60). Four years later, in September, 1961,

This strain of physical and mental resources apparently caught up with him when he arrived at his Phoenix home after a series of speeches in the Midwest so tired out that his doctors reportedly told him to go to bed for two weeks. (Bell, p. 220)

Goldwater told Bell he refused to do any such thing, but an Associated Press release of September 18, 1961, states:

Senator Barry Goldwater was confined to bed today.

recuperating from what his family described as a generally run-down condition. The *Arizona Republican*, who was ordered by his physician to take a long rest, was accepting no phone calls. . . .

It's anybody's guess what caused Goldwater's two nervous breakdowns, but perhaps his work in the department store had something to do with it. The first recorded incident of a sadistic juvenile practical joke perpetrated by Goldwater in his adulthood dates from that time: "He . . . harrassed employees with the Goldwater brand of practical jokes, such as shipping live mice through the pneumatic tube system to the secretarial pool" (*Time*, 6/23/61). His hostility manifested itself in other ways too. "He could be a roaring volcano, ranting and swearing when faced with a trying situation" (Wood & Smith, p. 53). It may be that working in a department store that appealed mainly to the ladies made Goldwater feel uneasy about his masculinity. Later on, for example, he abandoned women's garments and with great fanfare designed and launched the famous "Antsy Pants," men's undershorts with large red ants on them, advertised in the January 3, 1948, issue of the *New Yorker Magazine*. In recent years, asked about his work in the department store, Goldwater makes it quite clear what he did *not* sell. "He says he has sold everything in the store with the exception of brassieres and corsets" (Shadegg, p. 64). "I sold everything but brassieres and shoes" (*Pageant*, 12/59). Is it possible that Goldwater's nervous breakdowns were provoked by his intense anxiety about his manhood, anxiety that was aggravated by his work in a ladies' department store? This question seems especially pertinent since, shortly after the second breakdown, he made a madcap effort to join the Army Air Corps.

* * *

Even before entering the Army, Goldwater had been busy with obviously masculine pursuits—flying, shooting, and sports (although he "was not a gifted athlete"—Shadegg, p. 108). Apparently it was not enough, for Goldwater, the father of two children, overage, and with all sorts of physical limitations, was single-mindedly determined to enlist—and this was almost

a full year before war broke out.

At 32, Barry Goldwater was determined to win his wings in the Army Air Corps despite the handicap of his earlier knee injury. He pestered everybody from recruiting sergeants to senators. He refused to take "no" or even "hell, no" for an answer.

It appeared from the outset that his chances could be rated slightly below those of Whistler's mother. . . . Barry was too old, too married, and too uncertain of eye, being bothered by an astigmatism which made it impossible for him to meet the exacting eyesight requirements. Then, of course, there were those squeaky knees that carried him around as stiffly as a wooden Indian.

The Air Force was looking for daring young physical specimens in their late teens and Goldwater's qualifications appeared rather ridiculous. . . .

When recruiters smilingly showed him the door, Goldwater appealed directly to Senator Ernest W. McFarland . . . and to Senator Carl Hayden. (Wood & Smith, p. 69)

Time magazine has said Goldwater was "clearly unfit for service" (6/23/61), but Goldwater managed to wangle into the Air Corps anyway. And his subsequent military career was marked by his usual delinquency:

... Try as it might, the Army Air Corps was never able to submerge the Goldwater personality. He was a young fellow on the loose, looking for adventure. If he couldn't find it, he was ready at all times to settle for a bit of hell-raising. (Bell, p. 42)

And by his usual destructiveness:

Long a firearms enthusiast, he became enthralled with aerial gunnery. . . . The first time Goldwater flew on a gunnery exercise . . . he experienced a case of trigger happiness. His plane was armed with a 20 millimeter cannon. Barry dived low over the target, aimed, and emptied the cannon on the first pass. The target was blown to atoms in the one giant blast of gunfire. The gun barrel was so hot it had to be replaced on his return to the base. His eagerness cost Goldwater a round of drinks for the other fliers on the gunnery exercise. (Wood & Smith, pp. 70, 72, 73)

Though he never saw any action and seems to have been just a Society Soldier, Goldwater exited from the service in August, 1944, a Lieutenant-Colonel. Evidently he had found the military life so pleasant that he never really left it. One of the first things he did on returning home was to organize the Arizona National Guard. After his election to the Senate, he became

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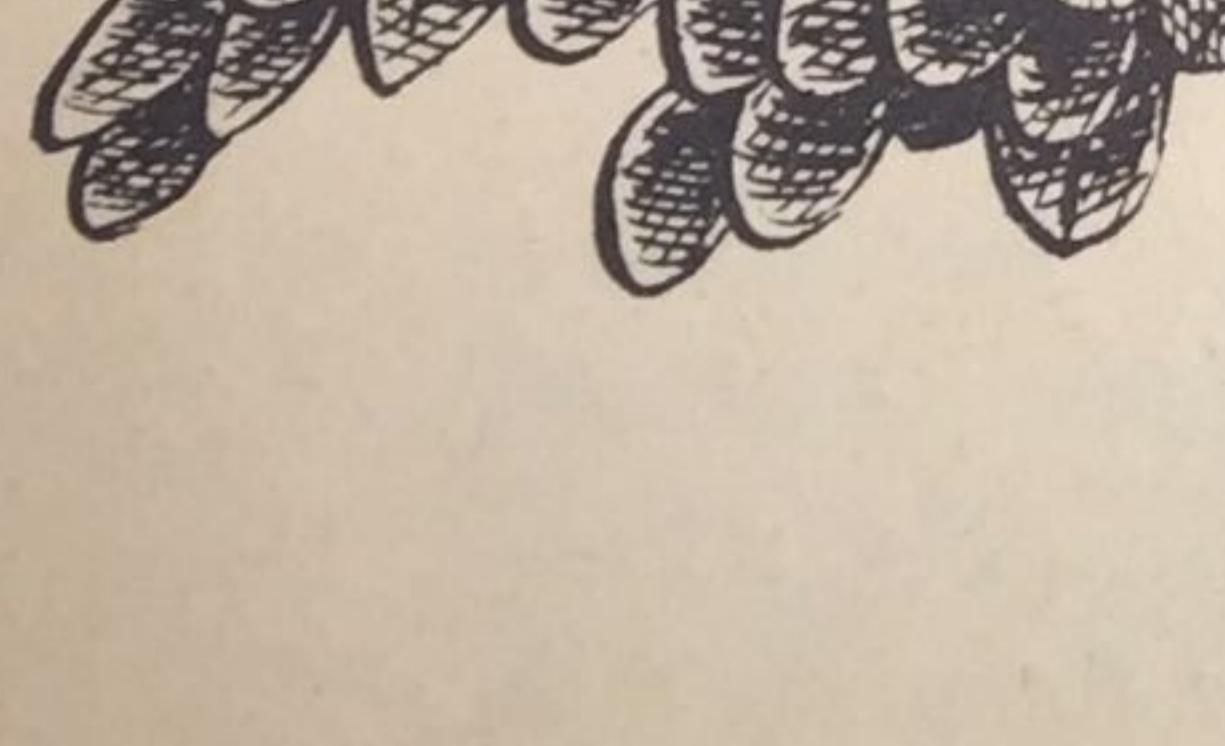
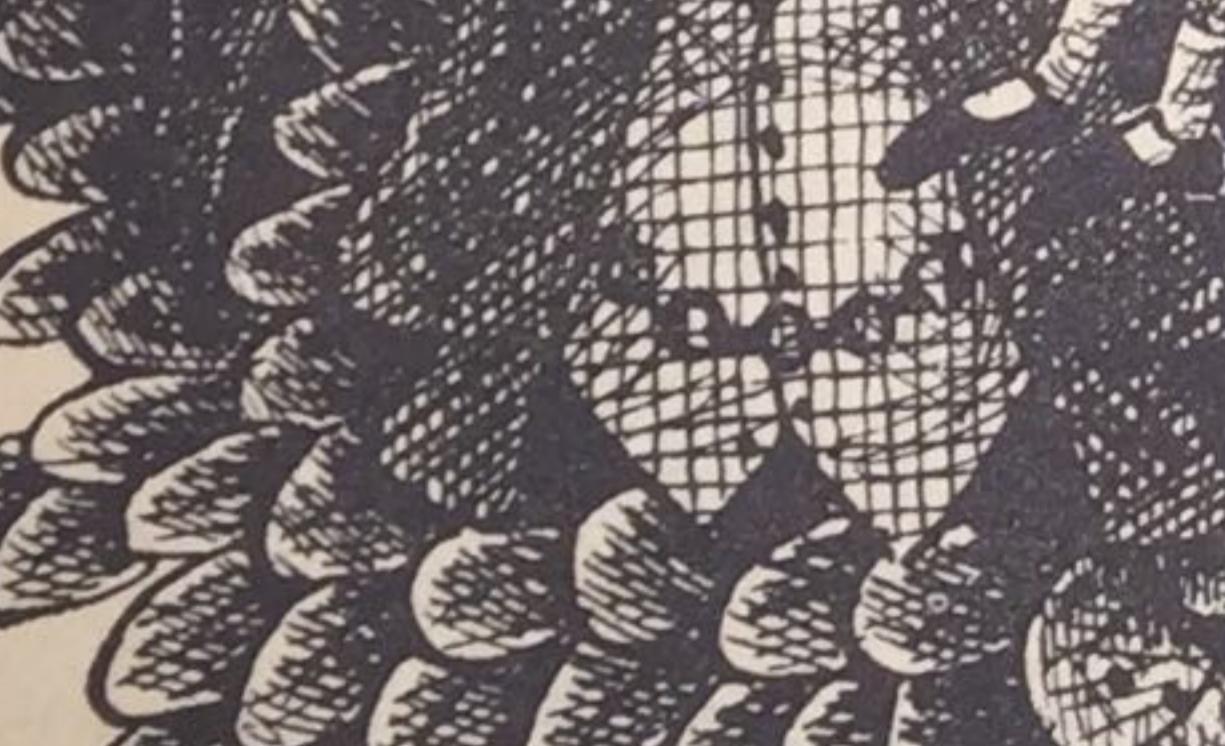
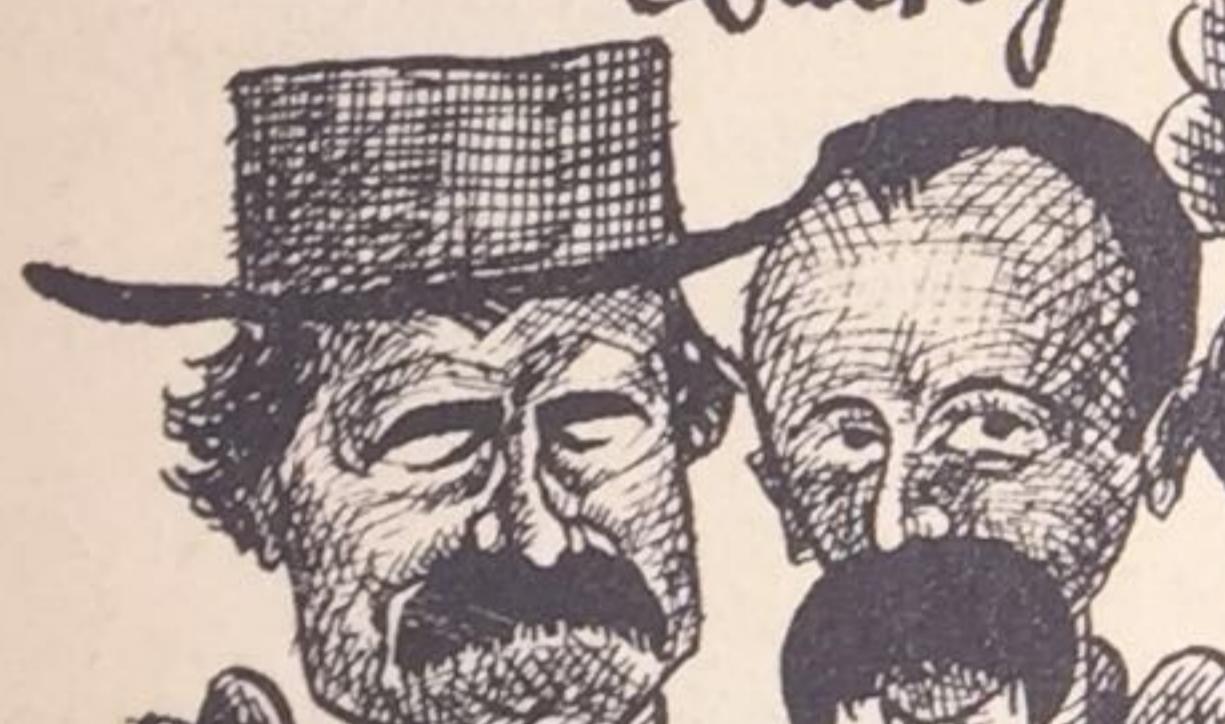
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commanding officer of the 9999th Combined Air Force Reserve Squadron, composed of Congressmen and Congressional staff members. Today he is a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a Major-General in the Air Force Reserve. In 1950, he even volunteered to fight in the Korean War. He was a great admirer of General MacArthur, who reciprocated his affection, and, as everyone knows, Goldwater thinks "our generals and admirals, are, in fact, strategists of peace" (*Why Not Victory?*), and he advises us to "fear the civilians... they're taking over" (Cook, p. 155).

* * *

When Goldwater returned to the life of an executive in a ladies' department store, after life with the military, he was not especially happy.

He came home restless and sober, his hair turned gray. During the next four years, Peggy realized that Barry was ill at ease and directionless. He had lost interest in the store and tried to occupy himself with local civic activities. But it was not enough. He drifted. (G.H., 5/64)

Goldwater got out of his rut by entering politics. And although his father was a Democrat, his grandfather was a Democrat, his Uncle Morris was a Democrat, and his brother Bob was a Democrat, Goldwater decided to become a Republican—like his mother. He ran for the Phoenix City Council in 1947, was elected, and spent his term cutting finances and closing down the city's brothels.

From then on his political rise has been meteoric. From a city councilman in Phoenix and a campaign manager of a gubernatorial candidate he became the junior Senator from Arizona in 1952. Only eight years later he was a serious contender for the Presidential candidacy, and now he is the Republican nominee for the highest office in the land—and in the world.

On a social level, success did not change him much. The child who startled girls in the bathroom and shot at churchgoers, the young man who scared sales girls with mice in pneumatic tubes still delights in mean practical jokes and exhibitionistic acts of hostility. As he relates it himself, once he went on a trip down

the Colorado River and reported back over radio to Robert ("Believe It or Not") Ripley "... everything went okay until I decided to have a little fun. . . . I announced, 'I have to leave the broadcast, the boat is sinking.' Ripley was all shook up" (McDowell, p. 79). Nowadays, every Christmas Goldwater gives his wife "a framed candid photo of herself in an unflattering pose" (G.H., 5/64). And then there is the Senator's lifelong interest in bathrooms. He is not only addicted to obscenities dealing with scatology, and not only is he candid about complaining, "my backside is taking on the shape of an airline seat" (Time, 5/15/64), but his bathroom at home is "papered with excellent photos of every type of military and civilian aircraft he has ever flown" (American Home 3/61). On the walls of the guest bathroom are candid photos of family friends, and, says the Senator, "When we have guests, they always examine the walls for pictures of people they know" (American Home). As for the Goldwaters' apartment in Washington, "All four walls and the ceiling of the powder room carry candid photos of their friends" (American Weekly 7/23/61). And I cannot resist mentioning that Goldwater once said, "As a military man, when I push the red button I want to know I can hit the men's room in the Kremlin" (Bell, p. 198).

His reading habits have not improved much, either.

... Goldwater reads and rereads Karl von Clausewitz's *On War*, with its exposition of total destruction of the enemy by any available means. . . .

But, mostly, "I read these little two-bit Westerns you buy," he said. "In fact, I usually have a brief case with Mickey Spillane and all of those things." (Bell, p. 37)

And when he is not reading *On War* or Mickey Spillane, Goldwater watches shoot-'em-ups on TV, for he "is an addict of TV Westerns and watches six or seven a week" (McCall's 1/64).

The door knocker at his Washington apartment "is a brass pistol, pointing upward" (CDN 7/30/64). At his \$150,000 home, which rises 500 feet above the floor of Paradise Valley and which has a burglar alarm, he does "a lot of target shooting" (American Home) and fine watching. Goldwater's brother Robert remem-

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bers that "he was always crazy about going to fires" (Shadegg, p. 73); he still is.

"I'm nuts about fireplaces," he smiled. "We have four of them in this house. . . . Sometimes I even turn on the air conditioning so I can have a fire." (*American Home*)

And as befits a Presidential candidate, "On New Year's Eve the Senator may turn up on the front lawn, in full-dress suit, stuffing a cannon with toilet paper [!] and firing into the night" (G.H., 5/64).

* * *

These are the known pertinent facts of Barry Goldwater's life. Although incomplete, they present an unpleasant enough picture. This is a man who obviously identifies with a masculine mother rather than an effeminate father, and is victim to all the ambivalence that such identification must create. He must aggressively prove every moment of his life that he is a man (in his childhood, masculinity and *woman* were synonymous), and in his irrationally cruel and spiteful pranks he manifests all the hostility that such ambivalence creates. But the seriousness of his malady, the extent to which it dominates his thinking and the danger it represents, are best revealed in the field of politics. On the free-for-all stage of American politics all his aggressions, hostility, all his fears and delusions of persecution, all his infantile fantasies of revenge and dreams of total annihilation of his adversaries found a perfect platform.

Let us then review his political career.

Goldwater stepped into big time politics in 1950, when he became campaign manager for Howard Pyle, who was running for Governor of Arizona. Pyle's chief opponent was a woman, Anna Frohmiller. "Barry sensed a deep-seated reluctance on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike to name a woman Chief Executive" (Shadegg, p. 93). He warned a Republican strategy meeting, "if you guys are going to be scared out by this woman, I'm through with you. I may even pull out of the party. Where's your guts anyway?" (Wood & Smith, p. 80). Pyle won the Governorship, and promptly became the first in a long list of politicians who

"double-crossed" Goldwater. In fact the Senator's political career sounds like a continuous paranoid nightmare—he is repeatedly "knifed in the back" by his friends.

In 1952 Goldwater ran against Ernest McFarland for the Senatorship, and was elected on Eisenhower's coattails—Goldwater says he was "the greatest coattail rider in history" (McDowell, p. 100). In his speeches Goldwater harped a great deal on the Korean War. He flatly stated, "Truman had started his war in Korea" (McDowell, p. 97)—and in one speech he said:

I challenge the junior Senator from Arizona [McFarland] to find anywhere within the borders of Arizona or within the borders of the United States a single mother or father who counts our casualties as cheap . . . who would be willing to exchange the life of one American boy for nine Red Communists or 900 Red Communists, or nine million Red Communists. (McDowell, p. 97)

The memory of this speech did not trouble him when he later made it clear that he was actually for expanding "Truman's War."

There was the spectacle of Korea, where with victory in our hands, we chose instead the bitterness of stalemate. (Why Not Victory?, p. 31)

... Red China . . . exists today because of this . . . refusal to allow victory over the Red Chinese in the Korean War. (Victory?, p. 98)

In his campaign against McFarland he also delivered himself of his first McCarthyism. With as much substantiation as the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin usually had for his accusations, Goldwater declared "McFarland is a socialist." In fact, "McFarland was no more a socialist than William McKinley had been" (Cook, p. 58). When, after the election, McFarland attacked him, Goldwater whined: "I have never shown this man anything but kindness. How he could do what he did is beyond my understanding" (Shadegg, p. 119).

Goldwater's devotion to McCarthy is one of the very few consistencies of his career. He not only voted against censuring the Senator but said, "Do I stick up for McCarthy? Yes. I have always done it and I intend to continue. . . . These people who would like to do away

with McCarthy are the type of people who would also like to coddle Communists" (*American Forum of the Air*, 9/29/53). "Joe . . . made a contribution to his countrymen that will forever redound to the credit of the people of Wisconsin and to your Republican organization" (Speech to the Republican State Convention of Wisconsin, 6/8/57).

Examples of Goldwater's own use of McCarthy-like tactics are abundant.

There was the time the Senate was investigating the Kohler strike: "At one point in the hearings, Goldwater cryptically cited a Bureau of Labor statistic to the effect that thirty-seven deaths were caused by C.I.O. strikes in the period 1936-1947. . . . Sen. Paul Douglas pointed out that thirty-two of the thirty-seven killed were strikers or strike sympathizers. . . ." (S.E.P., 6/7/58).

In 1960, at the conclusion of the Senate committee's hearings on labor racketeering, " . . . Goldwater was quoted by the press as saying that Bob Kennedy had 'run out on the Reuther investigation.' Young Kennedy telephoned him in anger and asked what more Goldwater thought he should do. . . . Goldwater answered that he wanted no more meetings. 'I want to get back to Arizona now. I don't want any more hearings.' 'Then why did you say it?' Kennedy asked. 'That's politics,' answered Goldwater" (Wood & Smith, p. 100).

In 1958, when Goldwater was running for re-election to the Senate against McFarland, he made a terrible mistake. He said that McFarland, while he had been Arizona's Senator, had voted "no" on an issue of importance to the people of that State. Goldwater's campaign manager, Stephen Shadegg, recalls: "McFarland's press experts demanded an immediate apology and offered proof that their ex-Senator had, in fact, voted 'yes' on the issue. . . . It was a serious mistake, one which might affect the outcome of the election" (Shadegg, pp. 133, 134). Goldwater decided not to apologize. He decided to ignore the whole incident. "This decision," says the estimable Mr. Shadegg, "was a testimony to the political wisdom Goldwater had acquired during his six years of service in the Senate"

(*ibid.*).

And then there are the *Goldwaterisms*. Goldwaterism is a statement that a politician makes—repeatedly—and later gets hot under the collar about when you remind him of it, and calls you a liar.

For example: On Dec. 21, 1961, Goldwater told the Phoenix Medical Association, "The United States no longer has a place in the United Nations." On Jan. 2, 1963, Goldwater told a Farm Bureau dinner, "I hope this [Congo trouble] results in the United States getting out of the United Nations and taking care of our own knitting." On May 12, 1963, Goldwater was asked, on Hy Gardner's New York TV program, "Would you as President favor getting out of the U.N.?" and the Senator replied: "Having seen what the U.N. cannot do, I would have to suggest it."

In San Francisco on February 12, Goldwater was asked if he had ever favored America's withdrawal from the United Nations. "This," he replied icily, "is as complete a falsehood as I have ever heard" (Drew Pearson, 5/20/64).

* * *

Once elected to the Senate, Goldwater chalked up a record that is unique for its negativism and is unbalanced by anything positive. As he put it, in May, 1961, "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them." In his 12 years in Congress, he has not had one important bill passed, but "He wears his lost causes—his 'no' votes in the Senate against overwhelming majorities—like merit badges" (S.E.P., 8/15/64). The vote he is most proud of is the one where he was the sole dissenter (Cook, p. 108).

"A fellow Senator says, 'Barry doesn't know what compromise means'" (Times, 7/16/64). His first vote in the Senate was against confirming Charles Bohlen, Eisenhower's choice, as Ambassador to Russia. He was one of the sponsors of the Bricker Amendment, which would have severely limited the President's treaty-making powers, even though Eisenhower and Dulles strongly opposed it. He voted, along with 22 others, against the censuring of Senator McCarthy. He voted, with 7 oth-

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ers, against President Kennedy's 1962 bill to cut tariffs. He voted, with 4 other Senators, against an expansion of the cultural-exchange program. Nineteen Senators joined him in 1963 in opposing the nuclear-test ban. In 1961 he was one of 8 voting against the National Defense Education Act. He was the only Senator to vote against the Kennedy-Ervin bill in 1959. He was one of 27 Senators voting against the new civil-rights bill.

It is clear that principle is not his motive from the fact that time and again he votes for billion-dollar Federal reclamation projects for Arizona, though for nowhere else, and "he has been heard to say to friends: 'They'd run me out of the state if I didn't support this one'" (Perry, p. 61). As one biographer wrote, in one of the grandest typographical errors of all time, to Goldwater "a principal was a principle" (Bell, p. 59).

Goldwater rarely gives in, no matter how trivial or how vital the point. When he decided to run for President, his advisers suggested that he break the news on a Sunday (since Monday's papers need news) and avoid Friday (because newspaper circulation dips sharply on Saturdays). During the Friday news conference Goldwater commented, "I don't concede anybody anything" (*Times*, 1/4/64).

During the primary campaign, "despite the fact that a decision had been made by his national campaign managers not to schedule any more handshaking tours, he went on one" (*Times*, 3/4/64).

Another time, Goldwater suddenly became so dead-set against making a few public appearances "that his California manager, former Senator William F. Knowland, came close to resigning twice" (*Times*, 5/12/64).

And another time, "When a crowd chanted, 'We want Barry!' for 10 minutes at a rally in Madison Square Garden he shouted impatiently: 'You'll get him if you'll just be quiet!'" (*Times*, 7/16/64).

When Goldwater arrived in California after winning the nomination, his friend Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, retired, said:

"I suppose you'll want to give these men an oppor-

tunity" and nodded at the crowd of reporters.

The Senator's chin jutted out and he said: "No, I don't. There'll be no press conference." (*Times*, 7/31/64)

Many reporters have remarked on the Senator's deep-seated horror about having to compromise:

He will not court people. And Goldwater can be very rude—for a politician, almost unbelievably so. He will make dates for public appearances and then cancel them at the last minute for no apparent reason except that he is tired and the engagement bores him. . . . One day in Minneapolis he kept cutting each of his engagements so short that he wound up at a college more than a half-hour before he was scheduled to speak. The crowd was only beginning to drift in, but Goldwater would not wait. As far as he was concerned he was ready to speak and he began. (*S.E.P.*, 8/15/64)

The Senator himself has observed what happens to people who compromise: "To constantly lean on others for direction and to use their suggestions without question develops weakness" (Wood & Smith, p. 91).

A constant, irrational, and unnecessary show of strength—even at the cost of losing an advantage—is of course a camouflage for a fear of weakness. But Goldwater's "masculine" facade fools many people. *Time* has called him "a man's-man" (6/14/63), Jack Bell has called him "a man's man" (p. 49), and Mssrs. Wood and Smith have called him a "man's man" (p. 12). Goldwater, after all, boasts of having given 90 pints of blood to the Red Cross in the past 24 years (*Times*, 1/16/64), of having piloted 75 different aircraft, including 16 jets (McDowell, p. 62). "As late as 1961 he . . . made a spirited but unsuccessful attempt to be recalled for active duty in the Korean War" (Wood & Smith, p. 91). He has "six times shot the treacherous rapids of the Colorado River in a wooden boat" (Wood & Smith, p. 12). When he wants to travel somewhere, "If the commercial airlines aren't flying, Goldwater will hike over to a hangar, rent himself a ship, and take off in the foulest kind of weather" (Bell, p. 220). Already he has crashed his plane into the side of an Arizona mountain and wrecked it (Wood & Smith, p. 58).

That such a man be considered a coward

would be intolerably worse, in his mind, than being a fool, a liar, or a warmonger. On TV, he turned red in the face when recalling that Governor Scranton had called him a "moral coward." And it is a phrase that his enemies have an annoying habit of throwing at him:

"Mr. Reuther accused me today of being a moral coward," he said in a voice packed with emotion. "In my section of the country when one man calls a man a coward, he smiles." (Bell, p. 96)

After endorsing Nixon for the Presidency in 1960, Goldwater said, "I got a lot of nasty mail, some of it calling me yellow, and other worse things—no, nothing worse. There isn't anything worse" (*Rumbles Left and Right*, William F. Buckley Jr., p. 25).

* * *

That Goldwater is sensitive to accusations of cowardice is understandable. He possesses a political courage of the kind that McCarthy was so proud of: the courage of slandering established personalities and institutions (mostly with the immunity of the Senate), the courage to deny, with a straight face, statements made on a previous day, and the courage to verbally attack a distant, commonly hated enemy who cannot retaliate (like Peking or Moscow) with the most extravagant threats. In short—the courage of a cowardly juvenile delinquent. One of the examples of such courage was Goldwater's declaration to a Republican breakfast meeting in Mississippi that "Earl Warren is a Socialist" (*Times*, 4/17/59). But there are many others:

First, there was Mr. Conservative, Robert A. Taft. Goldwater beamishly reports that after he arrived in the Senate he helped stir up "a little tempest" against Taft. "We accused Mr. Republican of me-tooism. We criticized Taft's backing of a 'little' federal subsidy for housing, health, and education" (Bell, p. 61). Other Republican leaders Goldwater has attacked: Sherman Adams; Herbert Brownell; Arthur S. Flemming (whom he accused of offering "socialized medicine"—Bell, p. 116); Richard Nixon (for "appeasement" and "surrender" in 1960 to Rockefeller, for "me-tooism" after the 1960

election—Buckley, p. 25; Bell, p. 127); Rockefeller, for being "out to destroy the Republican Party" (McDowell, p. 26); and, of course, President Eisenhower. He not only consistently voted against Eisenhower's major proposals, but once called Eisenhower's domestic program a "dime-store New Deal." When asked about Milton Eisenhower's running for office he commented, "One Eisenhower in a generation is enough."

The motivating psychological force of such attacks is an inner conviction that everybody hates him, and it is better to attack them first. That is why the theme of betrayal—so typical of the paranoid—is recurrent in Goldwater's utterances. The classical "acting out" of such feelings came about when he appeared, during a speech at Redding, California, after Eisenhower "betrayed" him with a declaration of Republican principles, with "an arrow tucked under his armpit so that it seemed to be imbedded in his back. He told his audience . . . it illustrated 'some of the problems I've had in the last few days'" (*Times*, 5/26/64). Pictures of the Senator with an arrow in his back were widely distributed in California during the primary campaign.

President Eisenhower betrayed him many times before, during his administration.

"The President took a firm position with us, or so it seemed at the time," Goldwater related. "He said he shared our feelings in the matter. We went away satisfied we had him convinced." Then he added wryly: "Within a week he sent up a minimum wage message." (Bell, p. 119)

Another time, Goldwater tried to talk Eisenhower out of supporting a drought-relief bill. Again he was sure Eisenhower was convinced. "In a wry voice, Goldwater added the denouement: 'I thought he was sold on the idea, but three days later . . . he sent down to Congress a seventy-nine million dollar drought-relief bill'" (Bell, p. 111).

Again:

"Shortly after I was appointed chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee I went to see him at the White House to report on what I knew about the political situation as it was then. I suggested that it might

be worthwhile for me to make periodic reports to him. He said he thought it was a grand idea.
"But I was never called back to the White House to report on a political matter again." (Bell, p. 120)

When Scranton opposed his candidacy he said, "When he has turned to attacking personally a man that I always thought he considered a friend—well, the old, *Et tu, Brutus*" (*Der Spiegel*, 6/30/64). And in 1963, when Rockefeller issued a statement attacking Goldwater's views, the Senator told interviewers: "Up to the time I read his recent statement . . . I'd have said, 'We're friends. I trust him, I like him, and so on'" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 9/2/63). And when a Negro delegate on the Republican Platform Committee, George A. Parker, asked the Senator a logical question—How could he conscientiously enforce the civil-rights bill when he thought it was unconstitutional?—Senator Goldwater replied:

A. Well, sir, when you use that argument you are questioning my honesty and I should resent it but I won't. . . . Q. I should like to say that I'm not questioning your integrity.

A. Well you are, sir.

Q. I request your frankness in answering my question.

A. You are questioning my integrity but I'll overlook it. (*Times*, 7/11/64)

And, sounding like a Communist ranting against Wall Street, he explained the sinister power behind his Republican opponents:

"Well, I know the very widely held theory—and I have never heard it disputed in my life—that the Eastern money interests—the large banks, the financial houses—have almost always been able to control the selection of the Republican candidate. They want to be able to control not the foreign policy as you and I think of foreign policy, based on peace and war; but the foreign policy of this country relative to interest rates, gold balances, values, etc. And in my case they don't have this control and they are getting quite frantic in their efforts to have somebody get me out." (*Der Spiegel*, 6/30/64, and reprinted in the *N.Y. Times*, 7/9/64)

No wonder he once said, "Sometimes I think this country would be better off if we could just saw off the Eastern Seaboard and let it float out to sea" (*Chicago Tribune*, 9/30/61). When the "conspiracy" against him and his followers originates in the Democratic party,

his language becomes even less inhibited. In an address delivered in Spartanburg, S.C., on Sept. 15, 1960, he said, "I fear Washington and centralized government more than I do Moscow." And Goldwater maintained that the poor acoustics of the 1960 Democratic Convention "were all part of a cleverly concealed socialistic apparatus that has taken over the Democratic Party" (*New Republic*, 3/27/61) and, more recently, he said, ". . . the Democratic Party candidates are dedicated to the destruction of this country" (*Look*, 4/21/64). He once said "Truman was on the way to socialistic ideas" (1955 Senate speech) and, after Nixon lost the 1960 election, Goldwater accused Johnson of helping to falsify the Texas vote:

"You can't discount Johnson in this thing. With the tactics he used, we don't know whether we lost Texas or not. I don't think we did. I think Texas might have been stolen, frankly." (Bell, p. 133)

And when Johnson was jostled and spat upon by a Dallas mob during the 1960 campaign, Goldwater

was convinced that Johnson recognized the situation as potentially helpful politically and seized the opportunity to make some hay with it. . . . "In his very clever way, Johnson had a hand in the size of the demonstration, once he saw the opportunities." (Bell, p. 133)

Goldwater was only being in character when he called Johnson "the biggest faker in the United States" and "the phoniest individual who ever came around" (*Times*, 7/16/64), and then, a few hours later, piously promised: "I assure you it will not be a personal attack. It will be a campaign waged on the issues solely" (*Times*, 7/17/64).

John F. Kennedy also came in for a good deal of Goldwater's bile. "I sincerely fear for my country," said he, "if Jack Kennedy should be elected President. The fellow has absolutely no guts or principles" (*Indianapolis Star*, 6/10/60). And,

"Kennedy played this religious bigotry thing as cleverly as any man could. The Republicans just kept away from it, but either Johnson, Rayburn, or some of the Kennedys—and not the candidate himself—were always talking about how their brother [Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.]

was a Catholic and he fought and died for his country and his blood was the same color as anyone else's." (Bell, p. 134)

(President Kennedy, incidentally, seems to have had a clear picture of Goldwater's all-round assets. Once when Goldwater was droning away and Kennedy—a Senator at the time—was presiding over the Senate, Kennedy sent him this note: "Do you always have to be such an ass?" [Bell, p. 143].)

Goldwater's proneness to engage in public name-calling fits into the mold of a paranoiac who tends to see issues in terms of people. The term used for this phenomenon is *personalization*, defined by T. W. Adorno in *The Authoritarian Personality* as "the tendency to describe objective social and economic processes, political programs, internal and external tensions in terms of some person identified with the case in question rather than taking the trouble to perform the impersonal intellectual operations required by the abstractness of the social processes themselves." In Goldwater's case, personalization is seen most clearly when the Senator begins thundering against labor unions.

* * *

In Goldwater's mind, the evil genius who hovers over the labor movement in America is Walter Reuther, a man who Goldwater has said "is more dangerous to America than the Sputniks, or anything Russia might do," whom he has called a "national menace" (McDowell, p. 123) and "the most dangerous man in America" (*Pageant*, 12/59), and a man whom, on the Senate floor and under a cloak of immunity, he has called a liar (*S.E.P.*, 6/7/58). Says Goldwater: "I would rather have Jimmy Hoffa stealing money than Walter Reuther stealing my freedom" (Wood & Smith, p. 99). At the 1957 convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, he "blistered Reuther by name no less than 44 times" (*Pageant*, 12/59). Six years ago, Goldwater had already amassed a 254-page file on Reuther, and

The Senator flips through it, reading Reutherisms at random, whenever he wants to be stimulated. (*S.E.P.*, 6/7/58)

To most observers, of course, Reuther is honest, capable, sincere, and anti-Communist. And one might add that Reuther also seems rather perceptive, for he was once quoted as saying, "Goldwater is mentally unbalanced—he needs a psychiatrist" (Wood & Smith, p. 99).

Many people around Goldwater think he needs a psychiatrist—probably not because they realize how sick he is—but because of the daily symptoms of hostility he manifests. In June, 1959, when the Senate voted against confirming Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce, "Goldwater, fists clenched, rushed up angrily to a Senator who had voted against Strauss. But before an actual fight started, he caught hold of himself and stalked out" (*Pageant*, 12/59). Drew Pearson has noted that Goldwater is "so irritable that on at least three occasions the microphones picked up his profanity" (5/20/64).

He battles often and in loud tones with his flinty secretary, Mrs. Edna Coerver, prompting her to say, "Some sweet young thing without my tough hide wouldn't last one day with him, and she'd be in tears six times before she left." He can blister the ears of his staff with complaints. (N.Y. Post, 6/15/64)

"Goldwater is probably the only politician of his day who can get angry because an unscheduled, spontaneous group shows up to cheer him" (*S.E.P.*, 8/8/64). *Time* magazine, on May 15, 1964—this was before Mrs. Luce threw her weight around—described half-a-dozen incidents showing how "The hard campaign for the Republican nomination is getting on his nerves."

On a recent trip to Atlanta, Goldwater stepped from his plane, strode wordlessly through a cheering crowd. A radio reporter popped up with a microphone, asked: "How was the trip, Senator?" Goldwater just scowled. An admiring girl tried to clap a big white hat on his head. Goldwater shoved it away, snapping: "I don't want that." The radio reporter tried again. Goldwater spoke a few words, but the reporter wanted more. Goldwater pushed the mike away and growled: "Get that damn thing out of here"....

At the Sacramento airport late one night, Goldwater was greeted by about 100 boosters chanting "We want Barry." Goldwater turned to California Campaign Manager Bill Knowland and said angrily: "I'm not going to get off this plane until you get those people away from here." And again, in home town Phoenix,

Barry was annoyed when a few newsmen and a dozen or so autograph-hunting youngsters met him at the airport. He crossly told an aide: "I don't want this to ever happen again."

Time even quoted one of Goldwater's aides as saying, "You know, he always had a hot temper, and we used to joke about the day he'd punch some fresh jerk in the mouth. Let me tell you that in the past month or so it's ceased to be a joke." Goldwater's friends as well as his aides worry about his temper. "He has a low boiling point," says his biographer Shadegg (p. 104). An old Goldwater friend, Harry Rosenzweig, a Phoenix jeweler, says, "This fellow has a tendency to get irritated and blow his top" (G.H., 5/64). Mrs. Goldwater's friend, Eleanor Libby, says, "He's a moody person. He scares everyone in the family except Peggy" (G.H., 5/64). As for Peggy herself, asked about his temper, she says, "He's much better than he used to be. But I'll admit he still flies off the handle once in a while" (G.H., 5/64). These uncontrolled outbursts are, of course, symptoms of pent-up aggression. But only recently, when during the convention in San Francisco—for the first time in American history—armed guards were posted around a non-incumbent Presidential candidate (even before he was nominated) did his aides begin to realize how paranoid he was. The mystery surrounding his movements, the rude, rough strictness of his bodyguards, and the general atmosphere around "the leader" reminded many European reporters of Germany in the 1930s.

This paranoia is expressed in many minor but significant habits which reflect his general distrust of people around him. "Goldwater is not a man who can work easily with men whom he does not know intimately" (Times, 8/1/64). "Barry does not like to deal with people he does not know," remarks one of the people he does deal with" (Perry, p. 119). "Mr. Goldwater likes men around him he has known, and known a long time. Mr. Goldwater even went so far, when it came to pick a Bell System man to handle his communications, to insist on the assignment of an old friend from Arizona" (Perry, p. 14).

The one group he truly trusts is the high brass. He identifies with them because they are "strong" and in no uncertain terms asserts his preference for them over civilians. His famous remark "As for those who say fear military men, I say fear the civilians—they're taking over" has already been quoted. Among many other similar opinions a recent one is most shocking in its implied insult to the strength of his own country: ". . . had not Germany in both wars been subjected to the supreme command of men or a man who didn't understand wars I think Germany would have won both of them" (*Der Spiegel*, 6/30/63). But with the exception of the military no one can be trusted, and when it comes to America's foreign enemies, the delusions of conspiracy and persecution are complete: From "Our government was originally pushed into suspending tests by Communist-induced hysteria on the subject of radio-active fallout" (*The Conscience of a Conservative*, p. 113) to "The people the Kremlin sends over here are, to a man, trained agents of Soviet policy" (*Conscience*, p. 107). (Senator Fulbright, has applauded the Senator on this point for "awakening the nation to the menace of pretty young Russians in dancing shoes" [Times, 8/16/64].)

* * *

But perhaps the most revealing utterance Barry Goldwater ever made, the most symptomatic of his paralyzing, deep-seated, irrational fear, is the following paragraph from *Why Not Victory?*, pp. 79-80:

Often, in speaking about the current efforts of Khrushchev to entice us into tricky disarmament discussions, I have likened Russia to a giant of a man, maybe six feet ten inches tall, weighing 275 pounds, trim and hard as nails, who with one swipe of his hand could render me "hors de combat." But this giant never bothered me because I had in my possession a pistol which he knew I would use as an "equalizer" if he made one threatening move toward me. This worked fine but one day he turned to me and said, "Goldwater, let's you and I talk disarmament."

Now who would be expected to do the disarming? I would, of course; and the moment I yielded to this demand, I would be at his mercy.

As a psychoanalyst friend of mine put it, "If that's not Big Daddy coming to castrate Goldwater, I'll vote for the guy."

This infantile fantasy in which, wishfully, the fact that Russia also possesses a pistol (the Bomb) is completely ignored is one of the most stunning examples of Goldwater's lack of contact with reality. But it is by no means the only one. He can say "The Russian people, we may safely assume, are basically on our side . . ." (*Conscience*, p. 107). And recently, in an interview with television reporter Howard K. Smith, Goldwater said: "We don't know why the poor are unemployed. The pressing need is for a study of why some people just don't want to work . . ." As the interview proceeded, it became clear to one and all that Mr. Smith "was referring to the unemployment of today, while to the Senator there flashes the image of loafers around a sunny courthouse square, in a turn-of-the-century Arizona town" (Arthur Frommer in his excellent compilation of the Senator's public statements *Goldwater from A to Z*, p. 14). As Frommer puts it,

When one reads the Senator's repeated suggestion that programs to alleviate suffering and insecurity be attempted first by charities; then, if they fail, by local communities; then by states; and only in a last resort by the federal government, one asks where he has been for the last 50 years? Is this not precisely the evolution these programs have traveled, until it was realized that certain problems demanded a national solution?

It is his paranoid divorce from reality that is the most dangerous facet of Goldwater's personality. It enables him to say,

We have in the nuclear bomb an advance in weaponry, and terrible though that advance is, it still is merely a more efficient means of destruction. In a historical and relative sense, it can be compared with the advance made in military operations by the invention and adaptation of gunpowder to war-making and the development of aerial warfare and strategic bombing missions. (*Why Not Victory?*, pp. 83-4)

He is convinced that "The basic problems are no different in our time than under Lincoln or Washington. We have merely changed the horse for the tractor, the hand tools for a machine" (1960 speech to the Utah Convention

of Junior Chambers of Commerce). He can repeatedly advocate withdrawing recognition from Russia (*U.S. News and World Report*, 9/2/63) and comment that "there is practically no fallout from tests conducted above the earth's atmosphere" (*Conscience*, p. 113). He can say "There can be no co-existing with the Commies as long as they do not believe in God. It's as simple as that" (Chamber of Commerce dinner in Kinston, N.C., 1/17/64) and "Where fraternities are not allowed, Communism flourishes" (Speech, National Interfraternity Conferences, L.A., 11/25/60). He can say "Secretary Rusk believes that starving people go Communist. It isn't true. The Communists that we have disclosed in America have been in the main well-to-do people. . . ." He can say "Our right of property is probably our most sacred gift" (ABC-TV, 4/7/63) and "The Government has no right to educate children. . . . The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children will get along very well without it" (Bell, p. 60). He can say "The Supreme Court decision is not necessarily the law of the land" (CBS, 3/8/62) and "The only summit meeting that can succeed is one that does not take place" (*Why Not Victory?*, p. 45). And, finally, he can say, "There is no such thing as peaceful coexistence" (*Times*, 9/17/61), and "A craven fear of death is entering American consciousness" (*Conscience*, p. 90), and "I am convinced, there will either be a war or we'll be subjugated without war . . . real nuclear war . . . I don't see how it can be avoided—perhaps five, ten years from now" (N.Y. Post, 5/8/61).

* * *

In the context of Barry Goldwater's personality, this is not a call for an impossible victory, nor even what Senator Fulbright sarcastically termed "a bold, courageous and determined policy of co-annihilation." It is a fantasy of a final conflagration, the twilight of the gods, in which he—and the whole hostile world—will heroically play out the last act of the Human Drama. If it sounds like the death-fantasy of another paranoid woven in Berchtesgaden and realized in a Berlin bunker not long ago, it is no surprise.

What Psychiatrists Say About Goldwater

By Warren Boroson

In a national poll by FACT, 1189 psychiatrists said the Republican candidate was not psychologically fit to be President; only 657 thought that he was

On July 24, one week after Barry Goldwater received the Republican nomination, FACT sent a questionnaire to all of the nation's 12,356 psychiatrists asking, "Do you believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States?" (The names were supplied by the American Medical Association.)

In all, 2417 psychiatrists responded. Of these, 571 said they did not know enough about Goldwater to answer the question; 657 said they thought Goldwater was psychologically fit; and 1189 said that he was not. (It might be pointed out that the majority of those who thought Goldwater was psychologically fit nevertheless said they were not voting for him.)

FACT's questionnaire left room for "Comments" and over a quarter of a million words of professional opinion were received. On the next 41 pages we present a sampling of these comments, which, all together, constitute the most intensive character analysis ever made of a living human being.

Senator Barry Goldwater gives the *superficial* appearance of solidity, stability, and honesty. However, my impression is of a brittle, rigid personality structure, based on a soft-spoken continuous demand for power and authority and capable of either shattering like

crystal glass or bolstering itself by the assumption of a paranoid stance and more power over others. In his book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, his position is one of anachronistic authoritarianism, using the Constitution in a litigious way. . . . He seems unaware that modern nationwide transportation and communication have increased identification of the populace with the nation as a whole—rather than the states—and that people generally desire national standardization of law, welfare, and education.

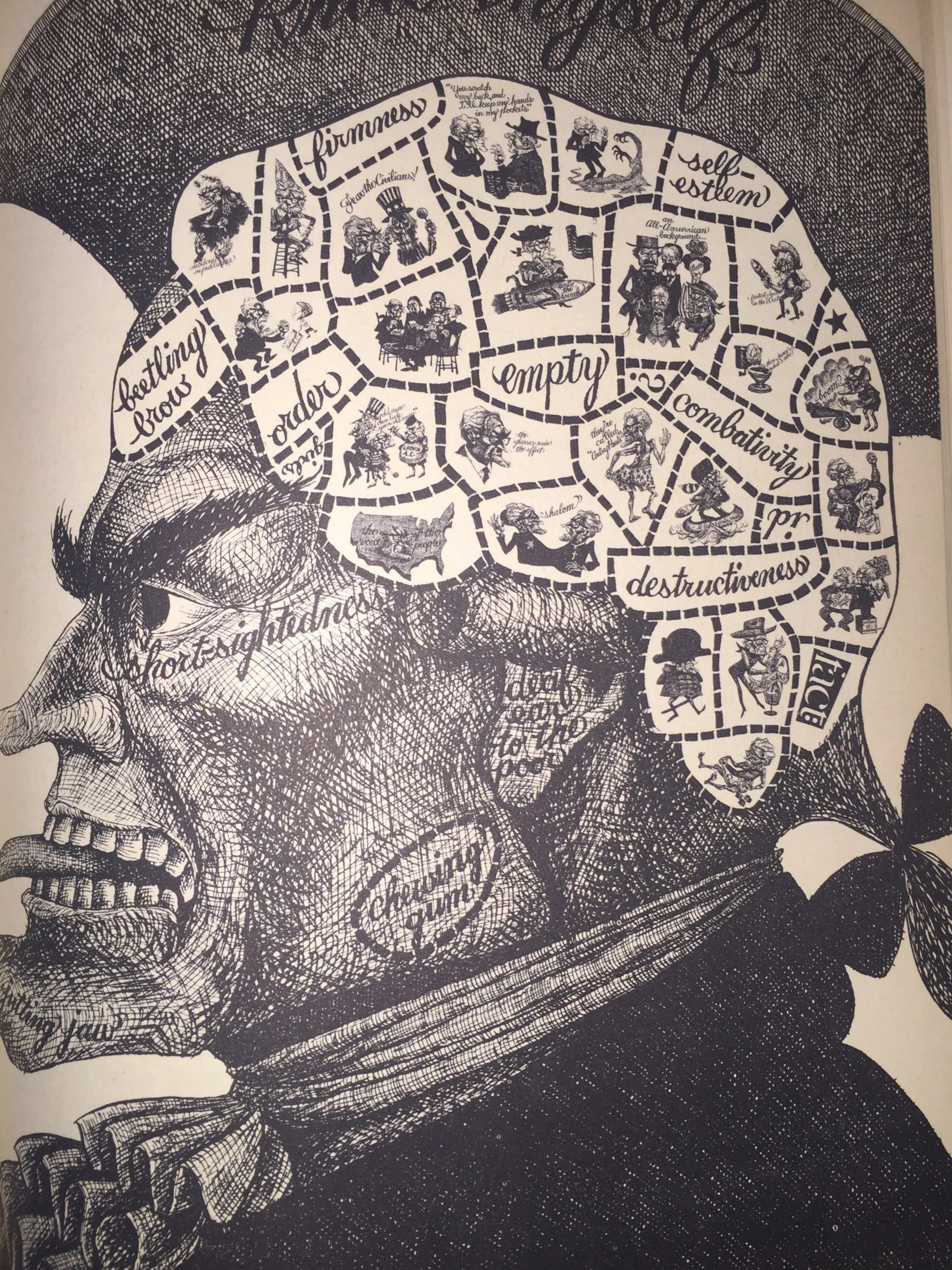
In allowing you to quote me, which I do, I rely on the protection of Goldwater's defeat at the polls in November; for if Goldwater wins the Presidency, both you and I will be among the first into the concentration camps.

G. Templeton, M.D.
Director, Community Hospital Mental Clinic
Glen Cove, N.Y.

The main factors which make me feel Goldwater is unfit to be President are:

(1) His impulsive, impetuous behavior. Such behavior in this age could result in world destruction. This behavior reflects an emotionally immature, unstable personality.

(2) His inability to dissociate himself from vituperative, sick extremists. This either reflects his desire for support from anyone or



unconscious goals which are like those of the extremists.

I do not think his having two nervous breakdowns in the past should be held against him. The sickness of his character structure *now present* is his real psychological deficit.

I have great faith that the American people will see through this man, especially since I am sure he will continue to demonstrate his impulsive, erratic, thoughtless behavior during the campaign.

Basically, I feel he has a narcissistic character disorder with not too latent paranoid elements.

*Carl B. Younger, M.D.
Los Angeles*

I believe Goldwater has the same pathological make-up as Hitler, Castro, Stalin and other known schizophrenic leaders. My reasons for saying this are:

(1) Logical or scientific or truthful analysis of his statements is completely impossible. His words are double-talk!

(2) His statements and actions show distinct persecution feelings. For example, when Rockefeller repeated to the Republican Convention some of Goldwater's earlier remarks, Goldwater had a picture of himself distributed which showed an arrow in his back.

My dedication against Goldwater as President is founded in the sincere belief that he is a dangerous so-called compensated schizophrenic.

*Chester W. Johnson, Jr., M.D.
Long Beach, Calif.*

It is not likely that Senator Goldwater is catering to extremist and backlash groups merely for the sake of his political future. More likely he feels genuinely a part of these frustrated and malcontented "conservatives." They reflect his own paranoid and omnipotent tendencies. As a leader, he seems to hold himself above causality and the consequences of his behavior. He projects his failures onto the public, as was characteristic of dictators in the '30s and '40s. All these men were incapable of searching their inner consciences and seeking

within themselves a cause for failure. To be wrong is inconceivable to such men. . . .

For Americans, Senator Goldwater would represent a reversal of our progressive policies and our optimistic openhandedness which has made our country the hope and leader of all new nations and oppressed groups.

I hesitate to make a man's private life a topic of political discussion. But in the case of a man whose executive powers are questionable as a result of his personality disability, then I think we must speak out for the good of our nation. It is not only our enemies who will suffer, but, perhaps to a greater degree our own people and our own country.

*Alfred Berl, M.D.
New York*

Gentlemen, I have a bumper sticker on my car which reads **REMEMBER MUNICH**. I'm scared and I'm fighting like hell against this damned fool. Remember this about Goldwater-supporters: Strategy against the paranoid fringe must be *very* carefully worked out. A frontal attack on paranoids causes them to band together and become more efficient.

*[Name Withheld], M.D.
Berkeley, Calif.*

At this particular time, on the basis of reading some of Senator Goldwater's writings and hearing only a few talks, I am rather impressed with what appears to be a genuine candor, lack of guile, and lack of malevolence.

*Richard L. Shriner, M.D.
South Bend, Ind.*

That this megalomaniac [Goldwater] has gained such a tremendous following from amongst cranks, crackpots, seekers of easy answers, racially bigoted and destructive elements of the South and West, merely tells me of the all-pervasiveness of irrationality and seemingly impossible task of elevating and maintaining our society. Perhaps if these elements are given a full chance to ventilate their know-nothingness and nuttiness, in the long run we can expect to find the basic good sense of the American people coming through at election time, as it

has before. So I say "hang himself simplest, albeit mentally ill, taken. But no considerable rightists we noid fires b stand by wi our convicti We ha fantasies of

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has before.

So I say let Goldwater talk freely and "hang himself" by his own words. This is the simplest, albeit more frightening, course to take. If it becomes openly visible that Goldwater is mentally ill, then more specific steps can be taken. But now when he seems to have aroused considerable support from patently radical-rightists we can only sit tight and let the paranoid fires burn themselves out. We can only stand by with buckets of sand, and courage in our convictions.

We have dealt with persons inflamed by fantasies of world domination before.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Chicago

Mr. Goldwater's now popularized remarks that the end justifies the means, his flouting of authority, lack of respect or consideration for the feelings of others, his tendency to run "roughshod" over those he has vanquished (as exemplified by his conduct at the convention), and his ability to attract and mobilize the malcontents, the esoteric elements and the "caste"-minded groups of the population—all these render him *dangerous*.

After his acceptance speech I could visualize crowds with upraised arms shouting, "Sieg Heil, Barry!"

H. Dublin, M.D.
Chicago

Mr. Goldwater seems to need a single, definite, authoritarian, black-or-white answer for his own comfort. The tendency to portray people as either "good" or "bad" makes both for poor literature and poor government.

In my opinion, the personality weakness that forces Goldwater to extreme opinions would make him a dangerous President. I am fifty years old. I have never before felt endangered by a Presidential candidate.

Harrington V. Ingham, M.D.
Associate Professor of Psychiatry, U.C.L.A.
Los Angeles

I think Goldwater has a paranoid personality which shows itself by marked rigidity, a tendency to project blame, fear of internal impulses breaking out and inherent contradictions in almost all of his statements. . . .

I feel he is dangerous because, though compensated at present, he could—and probably will—become more irrational and paranoid when under political attack during the campaign. He is very much like Senator McCarthy.

Alan M. Levy, M.D.
New York

. . . My mother-in-law's ranch is 20 miles from Johnson City, so I've had some intimate glimpses of Johnson and have the lowest regard for him. . . . I am for Goldwater.

James Alexander, M.D.
Chicago





The public speeches and statements of Senator Goldwater suggest to me excessive aggressiveness in a dangerous nuclear context. Some aggression is normal. Some aggression is psychopathic.

I suggest that a blue-ribbon panel of distinguished psychiatrists and psychologists from all parts of the country, not affiliated with government or identified with partisan politics, be convened to give the public an authoritative statement on the basis of all available data.

Prince P. Barker, M.D.
New York

It is my feeling that Senator Goldwater appeals to the unconscious sadism and hostility in the average human being. He appeals to all of the delinquent tendencies in the citizens of the United States: bigotry, hatred, doing away with the income tax, etc. Hitler used the same psychological advantage with the German people. He gave them the right to indulge in their own sadistic tendencies.

Paul J. Fink, M.D.
Philadelphia

I wish to congratulate you for your wisdom and excellent journalism in polling psychiatrists regarding Goldwater's fitness for office.

It is my firm opinion that Senator Barry Goldwater is utterly unfit to be President of the United States, and we must not grant him control over atomic warfare with its possible

extermination of mankind. There are two separate and unequivocal reasons for this opinion, each of which, by itself, would cause his election to be playing Russian roulette with all of the human race. Together they add up to what must be described as a drive toward species-suicide.

In the first place, his two "nervous breakdowns" absolutely disqualify him for that office, for these have a marked tendency to recur even after the elapse of decades. A delusional, paranoid President (a type accurately depicted by another Air Force general in the movie *Dr. Strangelove*) constitutes a dire menace to the survival of the human race.

In the second place, Goldwater suffers from a kind of social and political infantilism in his complete failure to grasp the economic and political realities of the modern world. Playing "cops and robbers" may seem like fun for the John Birchers and reactionaries who support him, but to put at the helm of our nation a bespectacled, grey-haired man with the social comprehension of a four-year-old (who solves all problems by going "bang bang" at the bad guys) is as dangerous as putting a child of that age at the controls of a jet airliner.

In brief, there exists an ominous danger that the chemical formula used to advertise Goldwater's campaign would be completed as follows: $AuH_2O + (E=mc^2) \rightarrow$ obliteration.

Leonard R. Sillman, M.D.
Westport, Conn.

Goldwater is not psychologically fit to serve as President. I am very much in favor of vocational rehabilitation for mentally unstable people—but certain vocations should be exempt. With a history of nervous breakdowns, strokes, or any other brain damage, nobody should have access to the Presidency.

J. Slumer, M.D.
Baltimore

There is much in Mr. Goldwater's public (out-loud) thinking that is reminiscent of paranoia, but without more details of his personal life it is impossible to make this diagnosis. But so would it have been impossible to make this diagnosis of Hitler and Stalin before their careers (and their illnesses) came into full bloom!

My best guess as to the man's mental mechanisms is that he inwardly is a frightened person who sees himself as weak and threatened by strong virile power around him—and that his call for aggressiveness and the need for individual strength and prerogatives is an attempt to defend himself against and to deny his feelings of weakness and danger.

In practical and political terms, his call for "individual liberty" means the liberty for the strong to oppress the weak and for the deprived to remain deprived.

Eugene V. Resnick, M.D.
Paramus, N.J.

If most psychiatrists do not prefer Goldwater, it is certainly no surprise. Psychiatrists have a strong tendency to be "do-gooders" and are therefore more politically liberal. Since I am a practicing psychiatrist I feel free to criticize my profession. Among MD's, we are the most psychologically disturbed of the group. That is what motivates us to be interested in other people's problems.

Compared to Harry Truman and John Kennedy, Barry Goldwater is a psychological "superman" in my opinion.

William R. Reid, M.D.
Tulsa, Okla.

Barry Goldwater is a *very dangerous man*,

unstable, callous. Knowledge of his nervous breakdowns should be stressed to the public—also, whatever therapy or lack of it. He appeals to the *worst* of our people. He would be the most dangerous President we've ever had.

Margaretta K. Bowers, M.D.
Newark, N.J.

I think the names of psychiatrists and psychologists who answer this should be made public so we can see which ones use crystal balls.

Anonymous
Maccleeny, Fla.

Goldwater's appeal to emotion (to the exclusion of reason), wildly inconsistent statements on vital issues, impulsive outbursts and history of two nervous breakdowns make me doubt seriously his mental stability. The fact that he has failed in most of his ventures into the academic world and only succeeded when he stepped into the family business leads me to question his intellectual ability to coordinate and comprehend the infinite complexities of the American Presidency.

. . . The most frightening aspect of the Presidential responsibility is that of the ability to initiate nuclear war. We can survive almost all other mistakes that an unstable President might make but this is what really causes me to be concerned about Goldwater's stability.

Bertrand L. New, M.D.
Medical Director, Brooklyn Psychiatric Centers
Brooklyn

Goldwater's expressed wish that he go to the Berchtesgaden region, Hitler's old resting place, to rest after his campaign is enough to convince me of his strong identification with the authoritarianism of Hitler, if not identification with Hitler himself, and all that this implies.

Ruth Adams, M.D.
New York

Goldwater had his counterpart in McCarthy, who was a very destructive paranoid alcoholic. Goldwater has the same wealthy backers and the same reactionary followers as McCarthy. They are infantile, impulsive people

for whom there are only right and wrong. They need simple answers when often questions are complicated. Sometimes there are no answers at all, but in their rigidity these people cannot accept that fact.

Regarding Goldwater's two "nervous breakdowns," this is a term that can mean anything or nothing. I assume the term means he has had two psychotic breaks. Usually the psychotic dilemma is murder versus suicide. The psychosis is the solution to the problem, the best solution the individual can find. Without treatment the individual recovers, but he still has intense internal rage with which he must forever struggle. Without good treatment he will always be vulnerable to psychosis because of this internal conflict. From his behavior, I would think that Goldwater had little or no treatment and is still struggling with his conflict. . . . People like Goldwater are scared and more interested in magic and rationalizing or blaming others for their difficulties. For this purpose the Communists, Jews, Catholics, and Negroes come in handy.

No, I don't think Goldwater is psychologically fit to be President.

*Norman Rintz, M.D.
Associate Psychiatrist, George Washington Univ.
Washington, D.C.*

I am highly fearful of Senator Goldwater's casually precipitating us into an all-out atomic war. His public utterances strongly suggest the megalomania of a paranoid personality. He exhibits a rigidity and sense of self-righteousness which brook no interference; he does not seem willing to listen to any counsel but his own. This man is as dangerous as a time-bomb with a short fuse.

*Randolph Leigh, Jr., M.D.
Cincinnati*

Although sincere and dedicated in his beliefs, Mr. Goldwater sounds to me as though his thinking is distorted and that he is just as emotionally disturbed as the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

*Dan F. Keeney, M.D.
Washington, D.C.*

Your survey is an offensive attack on a Senator who is a legitimately nominated Presidential candidate. It is an open smear tactic and I am angry that you attempt to involve American psychiatrists in such a cheap and psychiatrically-unsound maneuver.

I am reporting my answer to Fulton Lewis, Jr., who, as you know, is keeping a file on your smear campaign.

*Eleanor Crissey, M.D.
New York*

P. S. I believe Barry Goldwater most assuredly is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States.

Barry Goldwater's proneness to aggressive behavior and destructiveness indicates an attempt to prove manliness. In other words, he places a lot of stock in "standing up to" people and issues. Thus, he appears to be unskilled in the methods of compromise that are necessary to survival in an age of differences. His behavior would tend to provoke an enemy rather than pacify him. . . .

Goldwater exhibits behavior which has a schizophrenic quality. For instance, he can call the President a "phony" with considerable feeling and conviction and yet agree to see him a few days later face to face! I personally cannot shrug this off as mere politics. I believe it points up defects of the character in the man as well as a diseased ability to communicate.

*Peter G. Angelos, M.D.
Washington, D.C.*

Goldwater's insecurity and feelings of inadequacy cause him to reject all changes and to resent what he considers excessive power by the Federal government. His rejection may, in fact, reflect a threat by a father-image, namely, someone who is stronger than he is, more masculine and more cultured.

*Diodato Villamena, M.D.
New York*

I do not think Goldwater is sufficiently stable to serve as President. His outbursts against personalities—such as "Johnson is a faker"—disclose deep feelings of inadequacy

when dealing with him. His "extremism" (with more power than job) also indicates

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when dealing with people who may disagree with him. His public pronouncement regarding "extremism" (which to me means *the use of more power than is required to do a particular job*) also indicates a high degree of irresponsibility.

Hyman S. Rubinstein, M.D.
Baltimore

I not only believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States, but I believe he is a very mature person. He is mature enough to be a realist, and to adapt to the world as it is, and does not subscribe to the illusions (and/or delusions) of the visionary "one-worlders." He also has integrity, and I do not feel he can be "bought off" by the large money interests.

John Paul McKenney, M.D.
Napa State Hospital
Imola, Calif.

I have known Goldwater personally for 40-plus years. He is not out of touch with reality.

Anonymous
La Jolla, Calif.

I know nothing about Senator Goldwater except his public utterances, but their often ill-considered, impulsive quality is, in my mind, sufficient to disqualify him from the Presidency. Even as a candidate, they have shaken confidence of other nations in the stability and judgment of our society. The President is the world's

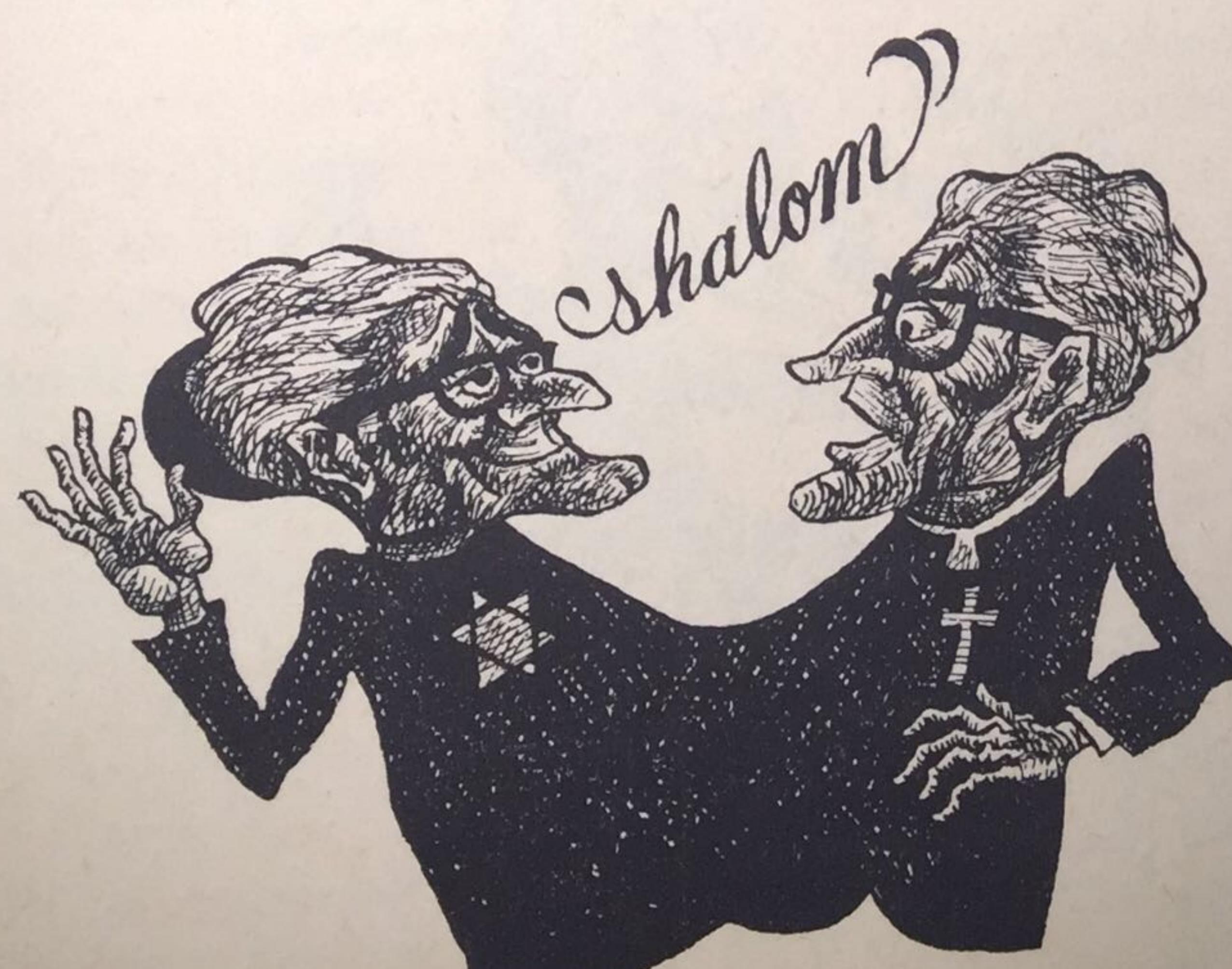
most powerful leader and his lightest words are carefully weighed everywhere. Rash threats, even if subsequently modified or retracted, made by a President would greatly heighten anxiety among both friends and foes, thereby increasing the probability of errors of judgment and rash acts that could start a nuclear holocaust. . . .

Jerome D. Frank, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins Univ.
Baltimore

B.G. is in my opinion emotionally unstable, immature, volatile, unpredictable, hostile, and mentally unbalanced. He is totally unfit for public office and a menace to society.

Renatus Hartogs, M.D.
Medical Director, Community Guidance Service
New York

Barry Goldwater's mental instability stems from the fact that his father was a Jew while his mother was a Protestant. This ethnic and cultural split accounts for his feelings of insecurity and spiritual loneliness. He cannot feel at home in either group. Aspiring to move in country-club circles, he is forced to listen without protest to anti-Semitic jokes and allusions. Unlike President Kennedy, who was fortified by his complete identification with a group that has existed for centuries and which is universal (the Mystical Body of Christ), and unlike President Eisenhower, or Governors Rockefeller, Scranton, or Romney, Goldwater has



no spiritual home. These five men are (for lack of a better word) the "gentlemen" whom Goldwater would aspire to be. But, because this is impossible, Goldwater is frustrated and his frustration takes the form of unconscious hatred of them and of everything they stand for. As a result, he appeals to and caters to the insecure, the John Birchers and similar hate groups, even while this distresses his Jewish conscience. The net result is that his thinking and emotions are fragmented. He is given to gimmickry. His best efforts consisted in designing and selling "Antsy Pants," men's shorts upon which he had imprinted crawling red ants. These proved popular to men who were sexually insecure and to women who bought these underpants for husbands whom they unconsciously hated. Goldwater understands unconscious hatred and insecurity and understands it viscerally. By shrewd organization of these unconscious forces he brought about his nomination in San Francisco. It remains to be seen whether this neuroticism is prevalent enough to elect a President of the United States.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Carmel, Calif.

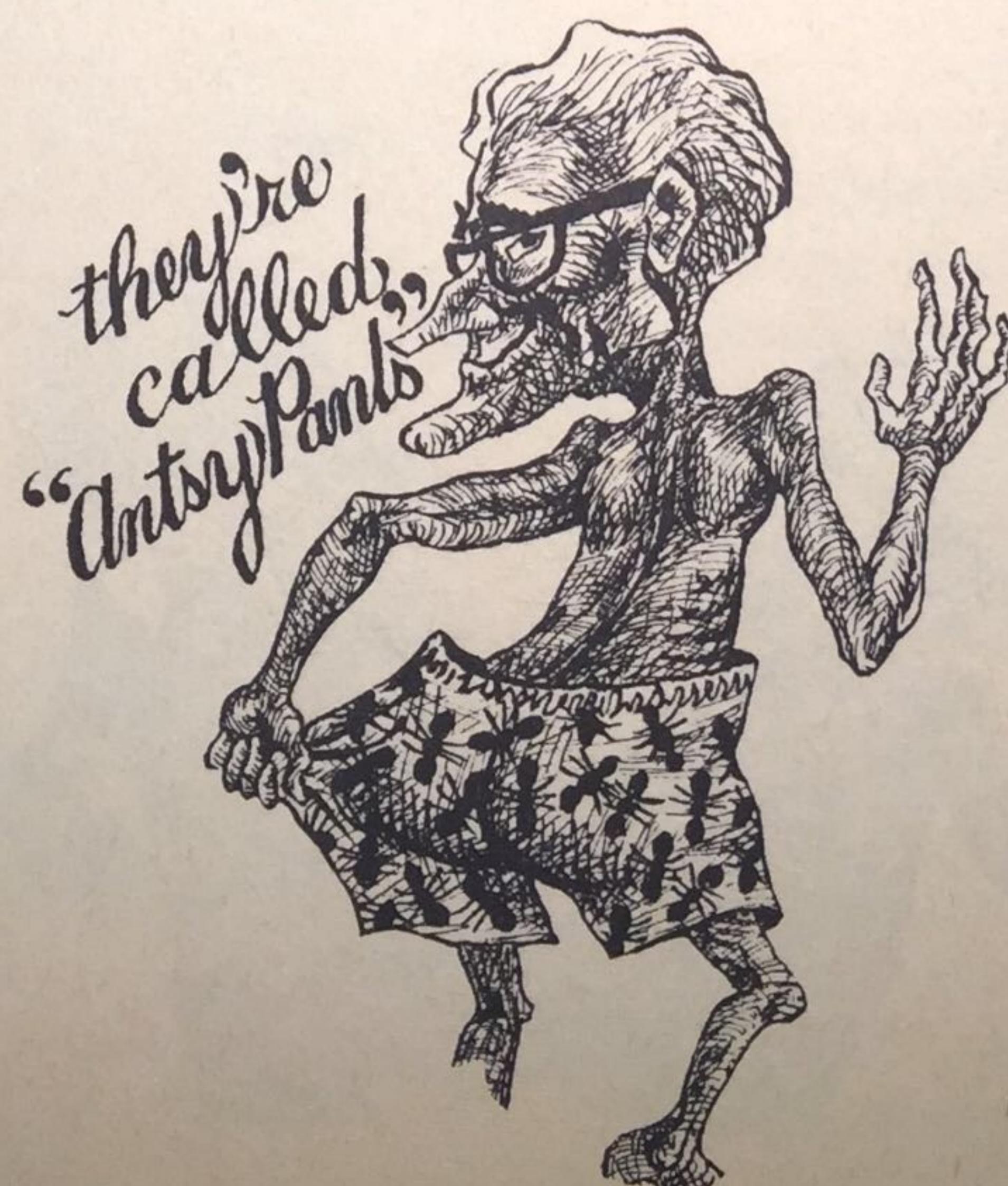
Your questionnaire cannot really be answered because whatever psychopathology Goldwater may have is not that overt that one can make a diagnosis by merely observing him on TV or reading what he writes. . . .

Since "nervous breakdown" is not a specific medical term, it leaves me, a psychiatrist, wondering exactly what did happen to Senator Goldwater at that time.

In recent years the American voter has demanded and received many details about the illnesses of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson and has taken these factors into consideration in determining his choice at the polls. In like manner, I believe such information should also be made available about Senator Goldwater's illness(es). I am not requesting data about the most intimate details of his life —anyone, no matter how central he may be in the public eye, has a right to certain privacies—but it is reasonable, in my opinion, for us to ask for answers to the following questions: What was the exact nature of Goldwater's "breakdowns"? Was he hospitalized, and if so, was it voluntarily or by commitment? What treatment did he receive? What has been the course of his recovery?

Richard A. Gardner, M.D.
New York

I have been a registered Republican since I was able to vote, but I will not be able to vote for Barry Goldwater. . . . It is my professional opinion that Goldwater is emotionally too unstable to guide the destiny of this nation because of his past history, background, and ambivalent attitude.



• You stand
my back, and
I'll keep my hands
in my pockets



I am a psychiatrist for the Veterans Administration and I feel strongly that we owe those who have given life and limb for our country a vote against war.

James W. Howard, M.D.
New York

Goldwater is less temperamental, less vindictive, more consistent, more pro-freedom and pro-integration than Johnson ever was or could be. Can pro-Americanism, anti-Communism, and pro-individual freedom and initiative really be as terrible as the communication media would have us believe? Yes, I believe Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States.

Gordon C.G. Thomas, M.D.
Director, Committee on Alcoholism
Stamford, Conn.

I do not believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States. He seems unaware of some aspects of reality, i.e., that the Russians have the bomb, too, and that "states rights" are usually a cover-up for bigots. Also, Mr. Goldwater seems impulsive and unable to tolerate frustration and anxiety.

Robert J. Joseph, M.D.
Philadelphia

1. Mr. Goldwater is impulsive (newspapers call this "shooting from the hip"). As a

vivid example I saw him on TV call President Johnson "the greatest faker and phoney." Shortly after, he said that in the campaign he would refrain from name calling.

2. He is immature, as shown by his being a poor winner. He stubbornly insisted on having the platform his way, although he knew that a more generous attitude would have avoided splitting the G.O.P.

3. He is vindictive. In his acceptance speech he poured oil on the flames by making the infamous statement regarding extremism and by denouncing all who did not follow his "philosophy" as not having a place in the Party.

4. He is inconsiderate. By the unfortunate choice of his running mate he completed the alienation of all liberal and independent voters who are not archconservatives.

5. He lacks compassion. His voting record and his speeches show evidence of lack of concern for the underprivileged.

In trying to analyze Mr. Goldwater's behavior I am tempted to call him a "frustrated Jew." Sure enough he was eulogized by an insincere orator as "the peddler's grandson," and he himself has on occasion declared that he is proud of his ancestry. It is, however, abundantly clear to me that he has never forgiven his father for being a Jew. He hardly ever mentions Baron Goldwater. What the Senator from Arizona stands for is the antithesis of the traditional

Jewish concepts of social justice, of humility, of moderation in speech and action, and of concern for the feelings of others, particularly the vanquished.

In eschewing these concepts, the Senator subconsciously expresses his hatred for his Jewish father. To add the final touch, he espoused the cause of extremist groups who violently hate not only the Jews but also Negroes and Catholics.

Such an immature, impulsive, inconsiderate man poses a danger when given authority over the welfare and the lives of millions of people and I do feel strongly that he is not psychologically fit to serve as President.

*Max Dahl, M.D.
Supervising Psychiatrist
Hudson River State Hospital
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*

It seems to me most revealing that Goldwater was disturbed in his dreams about becoming President by the assassination of President Kennedy. I found his way of mentioning it particularly interesting. Goldwater said, with reference to running for President, that Mr. Kennedy's assassination "took the fun out of it." It takes a thoroughly self-absorbed man to make such a callous remark on TV; it would have been bad enough to have thought it privately. I am also under the impression that Goldwater has become the Republican candidate on the strength of the organizing talents

of those who have personal motives for wanting him in the White House, not on the strength of genuine political personality like the two Roosevelts or Kennedy. The organization behind him reminds me very much of the work of Goebbels, without whom Hitler probably would not have succeeded. . . .

In short, Goldwater seems to me a narrow parochial person who should be left in Arizona, just as Hitler would have stayed a relatively harmless public nuisance if he had not been promoted by Prussian efficiency from Munich to Berlin. Possibly Goldwater's ambitions and temper are explained by the fact that in his private life he has suffered from the consequences of a mixed religious background.

*Gotthard Booth, M.D.
New York*

It is an axiom that persons who make exaggerated statements (remarks) become very moderate when they have to assume the responsibility of their decisions and performances.

Mr. Goldwater would probably be no exception to the rule.

*Raymond F. Wafer, M.D.
Psychiatrist-in-Charge, Earle Johnson Sanatorium
Meridian, Miss.*

I believe Mr. Goldwater is basically immature. . . . He has little understanding of himself or why he does the things he does. Because of this, he "projects" or blames other people



when a mistake is made, not being able to see the part he has had in the error. This blaming others can irritate people or nations and often results in dangerous friction.

I feel that he does not tolerate stress in a way necessary to a President. He reacts to stress by becoming irritated, angry, and losing control. Having had two nervous breakdowns definitely limits his tolerance of stress.

Mr. Goldwater has a mysterious air about him which may indicate an emotional disorder. At this time we especially need a President with real warmth and maturity.

*Edward J. Vogeler, M.D.
Camarillo, Calif.*

I do not believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President for the reason that under new Government security regulations no man with a history of two nervous breakdowns could get security clearance. I might add that anyone who believes it would be a good idea to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam to destroy the foliage would have difficulty getting past the discharge board of a good state hospital.

My position with the Government prevents me from using my name.

*Anonymous
Jackson, La.*

I believe that Barry Goldwater's public statements, when not distorted or misinterpreted, indicate him to be a thoughtful, capable person with great respect for his country and his fellow man.

*William F. Wagenbach, Jr., M.D.
Amherst, Mass.*

This reply to your questionnaire is a wholly speculative exercise based only on observations made at a distance too great for real validity.

One is struck by Senator Goldwater's belligerent bearing, and the hard line of his mouth which, even when relaxed in what appears to be a willed and controlled smile, changes his aspect not at all because the eyes remain fixed and unsmiling. There is about the man an air of detachment which is unshaken even by the swell of the ovation which greeted his now

famous utterance on extremism. In the midst of this surge of emotion he appeared the calm observer aware of the demands of the situation, to which he responded with the mechanical smile and the equally mechanical wave of the hand.

This remoteness from a situation which one would expect to engulf him is corroborated by two items in the newspapers: 1) that in the midst of the hectic preparations for the convention Mr. Goldwater was able to enjoy small talk on his ham radio set, and 2) while the actual floor fight was in progress, he spent the time taking pictures of the San Francisco skyline. Partisans of the Senator may argue that these activities merely reflected his confidence. It would appear, however, that to a person truly involved in events so momentous to himself and aware, as the Senator must have been, of the vagaries of a situation as explosive as this convention, some degree of apprehension would not have been inappropriate.

In the moment of victory he evinced neither compassion for the loser nor respect for any opinion contrary to his own. Everything had to fall on one side or the other of the unwavering line dividing black from white, right from wrong, good from evil. . . . One could not shake the impression of the Messianic pronouncement, "He who is not with me is against me."

It would appear that the rigidity he exhibits is necessary to exert control over the impulsiveness which is often his undoing and which too frequently erupts despite his attempts to subdue it. In these lapses from control he tends to denigrate others, e.g., calling Johnson a "faker"; he tends to give vent to destructive and hostile impulses and tends to provoke others to retaliation, e.g., attack Cuba, give ultimatums to Russia, etc., because, it would appear, the Senator is the embodiment of "Right" and all opposition is "Wrong" and should accept "Right" or be annihilated.

I have no information about his previous breakdowns and can make no cogent comment. However, it would be reasonable to assume that the stresses inherent in the office of the Presi-

gests paranoid tendencies in the candidate or his advisers.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Santa Monica, Calif.

I do not think two nervous breakdowns, if he had them, is against Goldwater's being President. Such illnesses do not, of themselves, alter judgment or insight or ability to reason.

R. B. Mershon, M.D.
Chief of Psychiatric Service,
Mobile General Hospital
Mobile, Ala.

What has been said about Mr. Goldwater's emotional state could be said about Mr. Johnson's. I think they are equally sane. One might add that Johnson has sadistic tendencies. Didn't he pick up his dogs by their ears?

Anonymous
Stockton, Calif.

Being a psychiatrist I feel renders me perhaps more sensitive to mental illness by inference than can be considered fair to the object of such intuition. However, the little I have heard about and from Mr. Goldwater concerns me. I feel he has large areas of personality that are immature and not well enough integrated to render him fit for the multiplex job of President. I refer in particular to his judgment. I feel he is often swayed by his emotions more than by his reason.

Although I am a staunch Republican,

Goldwater's nomination has brought me to my own political "moment of truth." I plan to vote for Johnson.

D.J. Bonnington, M.D.
Seattle

Goldwater reminds me of Forrestal who, fortunately, had no access to the *button*.

Anonymous
Galveston, Tex.

Politically, I heartily disapprove of Goldwater. In fact, I find him somewhat frightening. Yet I do not feel I can honestly say he is psychologically unfit to serve as President. . . . I don't believe emotional disorder in the past or even the diagnosis of schizophrenia is *prima facie* evidence of unfitness to govern. . . . Abraham Lincoln was repeatedly subject to severe depressions. It is conceivable to me that a compensated schizophrenic could be a brightly creative administrator.

Joseph Schachter, M.D.
New York

I believe Goldwater to be suffering from a chronic psychosis. It is usually in remission but he is maintaining a rather marginal adjustment.

My fear of his destructive acting-out is so great that I am seriously considering moving to another country should Goldwater be elected.

The prospect of his becoming President is





the most frightening thing I've felt since the A-bomb.

*Anonymous
New Orleans*

Mr. Goldwater seems psychologically naïve at times, e.g., when offended by a Negro on the Platform Committee he said, in effect, that he should be annoyed but he was not going to be. This assumption that one can choose one's feelings may account for his outbursts which seem to reflect feelings he tries to deny within himself that break through explosively at times.

*Calvin S. Drayer, M.D.
Philadelphia*

Mr. Goldwater's emotionalism and concreteness have an appeal to the primitive instinctual feelings which are generally suppressed. One danger is that he, as a national leader, gives a legitimacy to these destructive impulses and thereby encourages their expression by others. History is filled with unstable leaders like Mr. Goldwater who for a time are able to mobilize the primitive hate and destruction that resides in some form in all human beings.

*[Name Withheld], M.D.
Washington, D.C.*

Goldwater reminds me in his psychological make-up and political success of Hitler. I witnessed Hitler's early rise with anxiety. . . . Even

the fact that psychiatrists recognized Hitler's power drive as they now recognize Goldwater's is comparable. . . . Goldwater may for personal glory sacrifice the future of the world.

*Emy A. Metzger, M.D.
New York*

To me Senator Goldwater appears an angry, frightened, intemperate man, whose speeches and public remarks have sadistic overtones. Descriptions of his early life that I have read indicate to me that his mother assumed the masculine role in his family background. My impression was that she was domineering and considerably lacking in her ability to provide affection and interest in her children. The picture, therefore, is of a domineering, emasculating mother and a somewhat withdrawn, passive, narcissistic father. It would appear that Barry had a stronger identification with his mother than with his father. This would provide a fertile background for sado-masochistic temperament, such as is seen in paranoid states.

My conclusion is that this man is temperamentally unsuited to carry out the responsibilities of the Presidency. The likelihood of his being overly militant, suspicious, and impulsive would create a constant state of tension and apprehension.

*[Name Withheld], M.D.
Reading, Pa.*

It is my opinion that Goldwater's so-called

"nervous breakdown" was a stress reaction. It is rather common that great men who are willing and able to assume responsibility in the cause of devotion to high principles work under pressure and become emotionally tense and have symptoms of anxiety, headache, ulcers, insomnia, and many other psychosomatic reactions. . . .

Barry Goldwater has high ideals but at the same time is realistic. I am sure he has compassion for the poor and needy. He wants to create a climate in America where everyone has an opportunity to work for freedom, for self-respect, and to work for freedom through individual initiative and private enterprise whenever possible.

I believe that Barry Goldwater (like all peace-loving people) opposes war. He does not seem aggressive or callous. If war should come, I believe he will take a firm stand and he will never *sell out* to the Communists.

I hold Mr. Goldwater in high esteem.

Carl F. Vernlund, M.D.
Hartford, Conn.

The possibility of inappropriate aggressive behavior in a potential President is frightening. In Senator Goldwater the balance between impulse and control appears a tenuous one. Could it be that Senator Goldwater's wish to share responsibility for the use of nuclear weapons is related to his fear that *he* may im-

pulsively order their use in a crisis? It is unusual for a potential murderer to ask to be stopped before he commits the crime.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Goldwater seems to be able to so delude himself that he believes we can go back to "the good old days." Every nonself-deluded man of wisdom knows that you cannot go back as a nation any more than an adult can go back and relive his childhood except in fantasy or in mental illness.

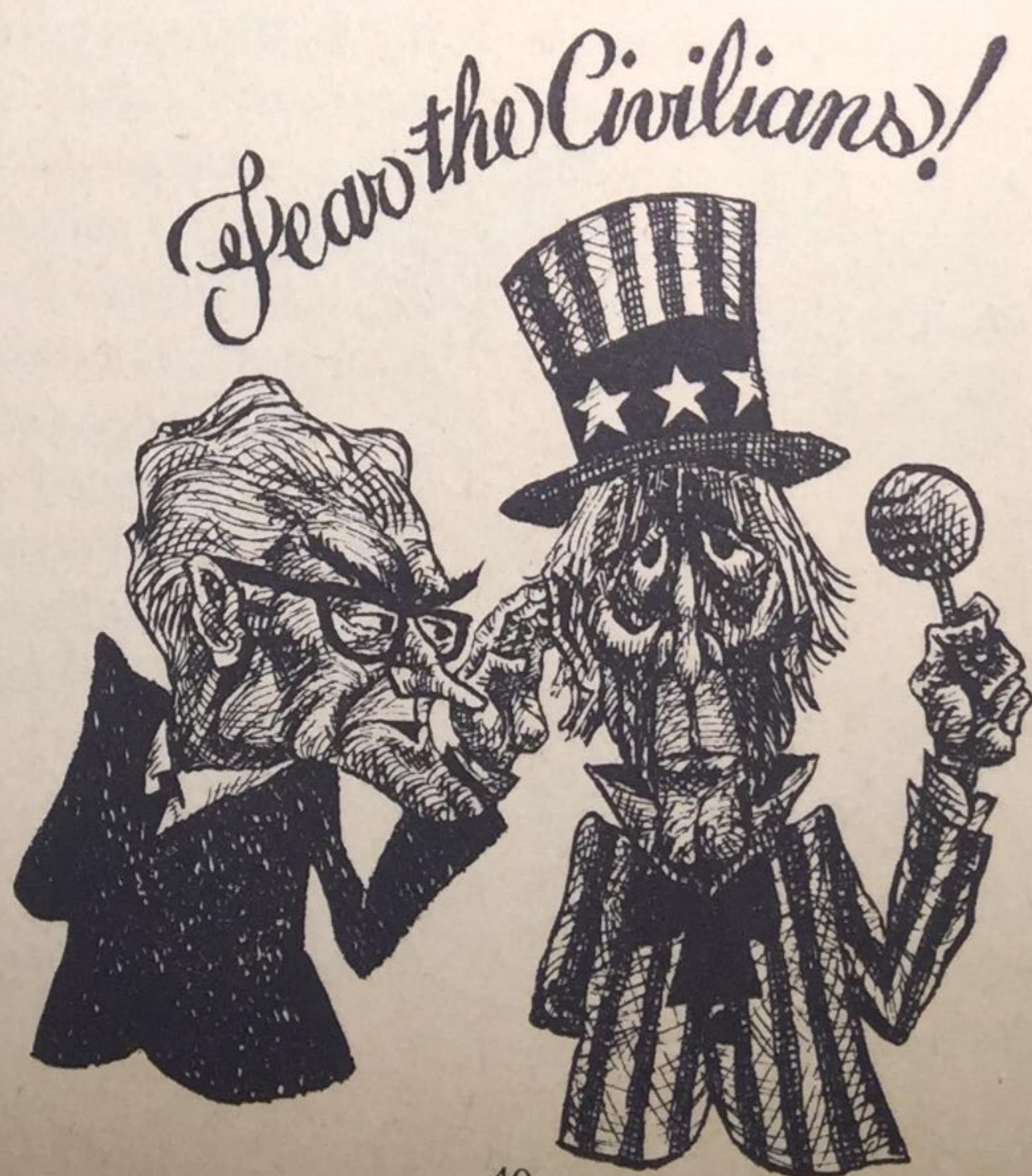
Ira C. Nichols, M.D.
Coronado, Calif.

My major concern re Goldwater is how suicidal is he? And will his suicidal technique be to kill just himself or, like many suicides, to take others along—like maybe the whole world?!

I'm sufficiently concerned about the danger this man poses to consider the possibility—so far just in the fantasy stage—of leaving the country for New Zealand if he's elected.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Bala Cynwyd, Pa.

This type of questioning to evaluate someone's psychological fitness by what he says for political speeches is sick. This method was attempted in General Walker's case and has allowed psychologists and psychiatrists to get



involved in things where they have no business. I would venture the thought that the individuals interested in finding Senator Goldwater psychologically unfit should be themselves examined.

Leon Marder, M.D.
Gainesville, Fla.

Barry Goldwater does not meet my criteria of psychological stability for public service. He belongs, in my opinion, to that not unsizable group of shortsighted, unpsychological-minded personalities of whom the late Senator Joseph McCarthy was representative. These are authoritarian, megalomaniac, grandiose, basically narcissistic characters with a warped, highly personal sense of reality, with significant unresolved problems with their personal and sexual identity, whose oversimple solutions to complex problems symbolize an infantile, magical manner of thinking and feeling, and who, in part as a result of glaring failure to look into and understand themselves and their own motives, tend to project what are at root their own inner problems onto persons and events outside themselves. The extreme example of this was, of course, Hitler, whose paranoid and megaloid delusions were tragic attempts to compensate for his profound inner sense of worthlessness and impotence. He projected his own guilt and blame onto the Jews. Goldwater projects them similarly onto the "Communist conspiracy" and "Eastern liberal interests." Life has, for such persons, little meaning unless they can "identify" some organized plot by someone or some group directed against them. Their paranoid thinking is thus abundantly evident. Senator McCarthy, as I said, is a good example. He was a slowly decompensating paranoid schizophrenic. Goldwater's general views and behavior mark him as cut from essentially the same mold. . . .

It is, therefore, no surprise that several extremist groups in California who ardently support Mr. Goldwater likewise view psychiatrists as "agents of the Communist conspiracy," a variety of extreme know-nothingism characteristic of the kind of thinking in which Mr.

Goldwater himself habitually appears to indulge.

I think, for these and other reasons, that it would be an awesome tragedy for Mr. Goldwater to become President of the United States.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Topeka, Kansas

I think Goldwater is governed by feelings of personal infallibility which would make it difficult for him to accept the advice of cabinet ministers and other specialists.

R. C. Arnold, M.D.
Downey, Calif.

Two character defects of Barry Goldwater are readily observable (this is not speculation or conjecture but *fact*):

(1) In his "shooting from the hip" method of talking Goldwater suddenly wanders off the subject at hand and trails into meaningless verbiage, a sign of schizophrenia as described by Bleuler (i.e., disturbance in association).

(2) From TV appearances it is apparent that Goldwater hates and fears his wife. At the convention she consistently appeared depressed and withdrawn. Certainly she was not like the typical enthusiastic candidate's wife and helper, e.g., Mary Scranton. Mr. Goldwater publicly avoided his wife, did not offer her his arm, walked ahead of her, etc. All he was publicly concerned about upon receiving the nomination was whether Peggy "has cried yet"!

I would like to add that I know nothing firsthand re B.G., but I do regarding one of our recent Presidents and his wife. He was under psychiatric care just before taking office and she still is a chronic alcoholic. But he functioned satisfactorily as President. In short, it is difficult to define "psychological fitness" for political office, and a history of nervous breakdowns should not be held against a man.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Los Angeles

Goldwater does not seem to me excessively aggressive in a destructive sense. His temper and occasional profane outbursts are normal.

President Truman was a great President and subject to both. President Eisenhower was a poor President and was also subject to both. I know Mr. Eisenhower personally.

Henry W. Hogan, M.D.
Crookston, Minn.

Goldwater is trying to live up to some sort of idealized image of a firm, authoritarian, just figure who will be kindly to those who obey and admire him and wrathful to those who do not, because he "knows what's best." He is proud of the competitive, successful, and strong and therefore has not-so-secret contempt for the downtrodden and needy. His anger is controlled except when confronted by those who do not view things his way. Then the aggressive bluster starts. If this does not succeed, he succumbs either to depressive moodiness or paranoid projection and blaming of others.

I consider Barry Goldwater unstable and dangerous.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Goldwater's lack of maturity results in an adolescent desire to attract attention by provocative or belligerent statements and a lack of empathy with those in situations outside his own experience.

This last trait also reflects his remarkable lack of imagination. Within his mind the most complex issues become, of necessity, matters of primitive action and reaction. The easy, quick answers resulting from this oversimplification have a strong appeal to the naïve and the stupid and this constitutes the threat that Goldwater poses.

Irene A. Harris, M.D.
Norfolk, Va.

Characterologically, Goldwater is like many middle-class Americans. He is "formula" oriented with a belief in the infallibility of his own rhetoric. "If I say it, it's true." For example, the "poor" to him are an abstraction; he has no concept of poor *persons* as individuals. He can blithely (and in good conscience) say that the "poor" are "lazy." Negroes to him seem to be

those creatures who make streets unsafe for women. He uses *denial* (pollyanna syndrome). If he doesn't see it, it isn't there (the Negroes are happy as is; their problems are due to agitators). He seems *oblivious* to the feelings of non-Americans ("strong NATO!")—yet Europeans and English think now's the time to leave it before Barry blows us up!).

In short: Goldwater is an anal character who believes all's well in his "tidy" world.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
San Francisco

Goldwater is not psychologically fit to be President, but neither is Johnson. It is certain that we will have an immature, unstable, exhibitionistic, unpredictable, and probably dangerous man for President for the next four years.

John E. Roberts, M.D.
New Orleans

We have long needed the opportunity for the public to choose between conservatism and modern socialism. Barry Goldwater's candidacy offers this choice. He is a sane man.

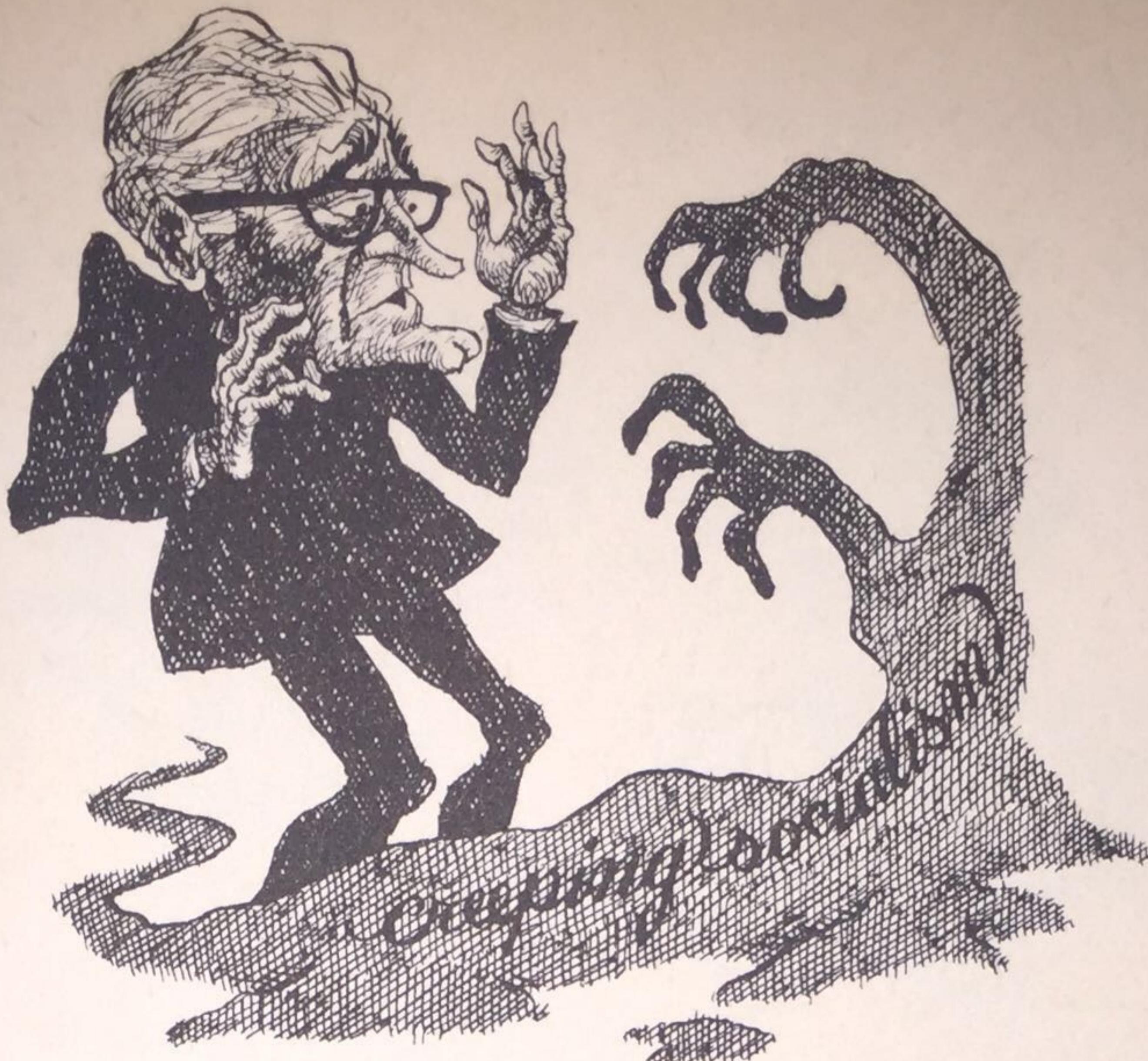
Anonymous
Pensacola, Fla.

Yes I believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States. I have heard rumors of his "nervous breakdowns." I believe that attempting to introduce these rumors into the campaign (as they were *not* introduced in the case of Adlai Stevenson) would leave Johnson with his cardiac record a sitting duck for medical snipers.

This statement comes from one who was a very strong supporter of Stevenson and who is an even stronger supporter of Johnson.

Peter H. Knapp, M.D.
Professor of Psychiatry,
Boston University School of Medicine
Boston

It is my considered opinion that Senator Barry Goldwater is psychologically unfit to serve as President of the United States. In addition to extensive reading of his "shoot-from-the-



hip" utterances, I have reread his *Conscience of a Conservative*.

He makes wish-fulfillment statements and then treats them as facts. He uses these alleged facts to build an elaborate superstructure, but one without foundation. . . . A thorough and thoughtful reading of his opus reveals the shallowness and drivel of his mind. The book is full of contradictions and exhortatory slogans. . . . His use of language resembles Humpty Dumpty speaking to Alice in Wonderland. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

Finally, someone has defined a two-year-old as "a dwarf psychotic with a good prognosis." Goldwater is no longer a two-year-old.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Los Angeles

The Senator seems to find it difficult to express himself clearly. Whether this is due to a lifelong inability to handle words or to a presenile deterioration in his faculties it is impossible for me to say without a personal interview.

T.A. Phillips, M.D.
Owen, Wis.

In my professional opinion, Senator Barry Goldwater is not psychologically fit to serve as President of the U.S. After attentive and careful listening to his speeches and conferences, I see clear evidence of a thought disorder. By

this I imply that his statements do not usually come to a logical conclusion. At times they are directly contradictory. There are gaps in his associations and frequently no clear-cut inferences can be made. Furthermore, there is a great deal of hostility and aggression that is incompletely masked. Under stress or failure, his hostility is turned inward against himself and he becomes depressed.

It is apparent that his emotional control is deficient. Frequent temper outbursts and some profane public utterances imply a defective ego that is unable to control primitive hostile emotional situations. I would postulate further that because of inner insecurities Senator Goldwater has a need to be critical of and callous to the needy and impoverished, including those of minority ancestry. This is a denial of his own problems and insecurities.

A megalomaniacal, grandiose omnipotence appears to pervade Mr. Goldwater's personality giving further evidence of his denial and lack of recognition of his own feelings of insecurity and ineffectiveness. On at least one occasion, when he lost a great deal of money, he had a depressive reaction. Poverty to him was a symbol of his own insecurity and feelings of worthlessness, which could not be denied.

His two "nervous breakdowns" are indeed good evidence of his being unfit to be President. As President, he would feel seriously threatened if any requests to Congress or allies could not

be fulfilled. This could lead to severe psychotic decompensation.

Senator Goldwater's election would be sorry evidence of the psychopathology of American society and a sad reflection of the insanity of our times.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

It takes a certain amount of psychopathology to become President and there is no evidence that Goldwater has any more than any of his predecessors in the past 60 years.

Stuart L. Keill, M.D.
New York

In my practice I have had in 10 years at least 10 "ham" radio operators. The unique characteristic of all of these people was *an inability to communicate face to face with their fellow man without discomfort*. They spoke easily on their radios but they could *control* them by turning them on and off. With these patients I was delighted at *any* constructive effort to communicate. My patients also emphasized their pleasure with the anonymity available to them in such a setup: call letters, first names, post-office boxes for card returns, etc. How nice and **SECRET!** So who would know what B.G. had said to a foreign leader—until too late?

Norma R. Mason, M.D.
Chicago

•••Will Lola
be rescued from
the hairy clutches
of the prehistoric
Snowmen?•••
•••Will the red
iceberg melt away?•••
•••tune in
next week for
the further high-
life adventures of...
•••



Barry Goldwater is not intelligent enough to serve as President. My guess is that he would qualify as Normal or Bright Normal, I.Q.-wise. A President needs to be a man of *Superior* intelligence.

Goldwater is rigid, lacks flexibility, and has little capacity to withstand pressure. A simple newspaper interview can throw him.

He is the exact opposite of a clear thinker.

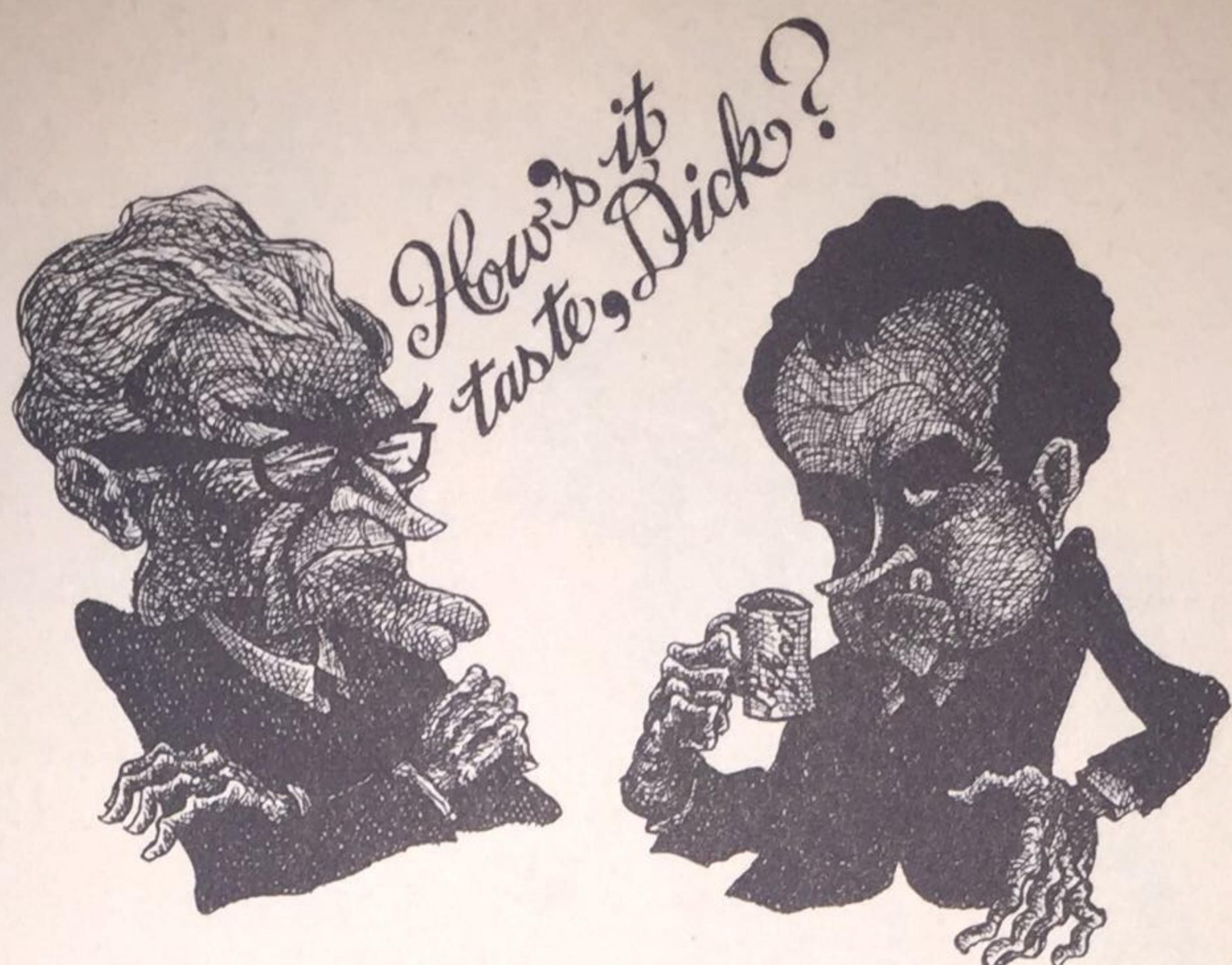
Anonymous
New Haven, Conn.

Your questionnaire is one of the most asinine, insulting documents I have ever been confronted with through the U.S. mails. Obviously, you and your informants believe that psychiatry is somewhat on the order of necromancy, soothsaying, glass-ball peering, and tea-leaf reading. I can assure you that no self-respecting, clinically-minded, and sincere physician or psychiatrist will answer it.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Senator Barry Goldwater's Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Charles H. Brown, M.D.
Wichita Falls, Texas

Goldwater is a man who makes 1400 speeches in 4 years to gain support for political candidacy. Then, at a point where his nomination is assured, he proceeds to alienate not only Negroes and other minority groups but also highly-respected, nationally-prominent, respon-



sible members of his own party. As an experienced politician, he must know that as a minority party candidate he needs the support of these people. Yet he acts as if they were his enemies. Mr. G. seems to be handicapped by a narcissism and megalomania which precludes any compromise. Those who disagree with him are regarded as conspirators. He seems unable to recognize the possibility of legitimate differences of opinion. His view appears to be so strictured at times as to suggest rather infantile apperceptions. . . .

It is my considered opinion that he is not only psychologically unsuited for the Presidency, but is in fact dangerous.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Encino, Calif.

I want to specify that the opinions I hold of Senator Goldwater are based upon my personal observations, and not on any editorials or reports from news media. I have had the privilege of hearing Mr. Goldwater in person and over television several times. In addition, the following remarks are based on my own opinion and related to my own biases, as would be the remarks of any person responding to such a survey.

In contrast to reports through the news media, when I have observed Mr. Goldwater directly, I have been impressed with his emotional stability and emotional control. It is true

that I have heard him utter a few words which would be considered profane by some people; however, I did not feel that these were inappropriate. (Who has not uttered such things?)

I feel that his aggressive and active approach to problems having to do with government is a healthy approach. I do not see that aggressive behavior is equal to destructive behavior; these are not synonymous. There is healthy aggressivity and I feel that this is what Senator Goldwater possesses and has been interpreted by others as "destructiveness."

With respect to his alleged "callousness to the needy," I want to point out that my observations have been that he is interested in maintaining and cultivating the dignity of man rather than degrading him. Those people who know Senator Goldwater personally, and through his contributions to society in the State of Arizona and as a Senator from the State of Arizona, are well aware that he is quite interested in the needy and their needs to help themselves in a dignified manner.

Thank you for this opportunity of expressing myself.

Robert T. Dean, Jr., M.D.
Phoenix

Goldwater presents himself as dedicated to righteousness. However, his righteousness is a rationalization for a callousness toward less fortunate persons.

I am afraid that as a President in pursuit



of righteousness he would start the last world war.

Anonymous
Englewood, N.J.

Please arrange an appointment for Senator Goldwater with our office at his convenience and mine. At that time I will be pleased to do a psychological evaluation as this is the only way a PROPER evaluation can be done.

Robert J. Kurey, M.D.
Lancaster, Pa.

From his published statements I get the impression that Goldwater is basically a paranoid schizophrenic who decompensates from time to time. His judgment is often very poor and his outbursts of impulsive aggression I find quite frightening in a potential President. In addition, he seems to be shallow and unable to empathize with many groups of people.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Boston

Mr. Goldwater strikes this psychiatrist as personally honest but impulsive, given to snap judgments on the basis of moods, to be basically quite intolerant of the varied modes of thinking of the human race and to have an authoritarian doctrinaire approach to very complex problems. This probably indicates a great deal of internal anxiety and intolerance of uncertainty. It strikes me that Mr. Goldwater and many of his fol-

lowers belong to that unfortunate group of neurotic persons who would like to be dead in order to "get it over with" because of their enormous pathological need to find an *answer* for everything. Unfortunately, the facts of reality are such that absolute answers are often impossible to find and pragmatic positions are probably the only sane ones. Mr. Goldwater and those who support him seem to be terrified of this latter idea and therefore in positions of power would be in my judgment very dangerous. He resembles Mao Tse-tung.

John Randolph González, M.D.
New Orleans

It is most disquieting that a man who, according to his wife, has suffered two complete "nervous breakdowns" would even be considered for the office of President of the United States. The term "nervous breakdown" is not a medical term. What is usually hidden behind this term is either a severe depression with suicidal trends or a schizophrenic reaction. Either of these possibilities means serious mental illness and the strong possibility of further episodes, especially under stress.

I am especially impressed by what I consider to be the paranoid trends in Goldwater's personality. His irritability, public profanity, and lack of feeling for others are all consistent with this personality type. The slip-of-the-tongue in his acceptance speech—"God has

created this great Republican—I mean Republic . . ."—indicates a strong megalomaniac streak.

The public deserves full details of the two "nervous breakdowns." Eminent psychiatrists should have an opportunity to evaluate these episodes. The full facts of Eisenhower's heart attacks and Johnson's were made known. It is even much more important that the facts about Goldwater's mental illness be fully disclosed.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

It has been my experience that previous mental breakdowns in an individual predispose him to a future breakdown. . . . This certainly does not mean to demean those who have had mental breakdowns. At the same time, I would not want such an individual to be President of the U.S., a position where stamina and ego strength are a prime requisite.

J. Kolker, M.D.
New York

Goldwater seems to me an aggressive, impulsive person who actively promotes conflict between groups, probably as a response to his own inner turmoil.

I think there is also some evidence of self-destructive tendencies. . . . If he were elected this might promote the disaster of *Après moi le déluge*.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Boston

If indeed Senator Goldwater has suffered from anxiety in the past, then from a psychiatrist's viewpoint he must have undergone a complete cure—the criteria for which are the ability to resume a full and active life, to participate in useful work, to face facts squarely without insecurity.

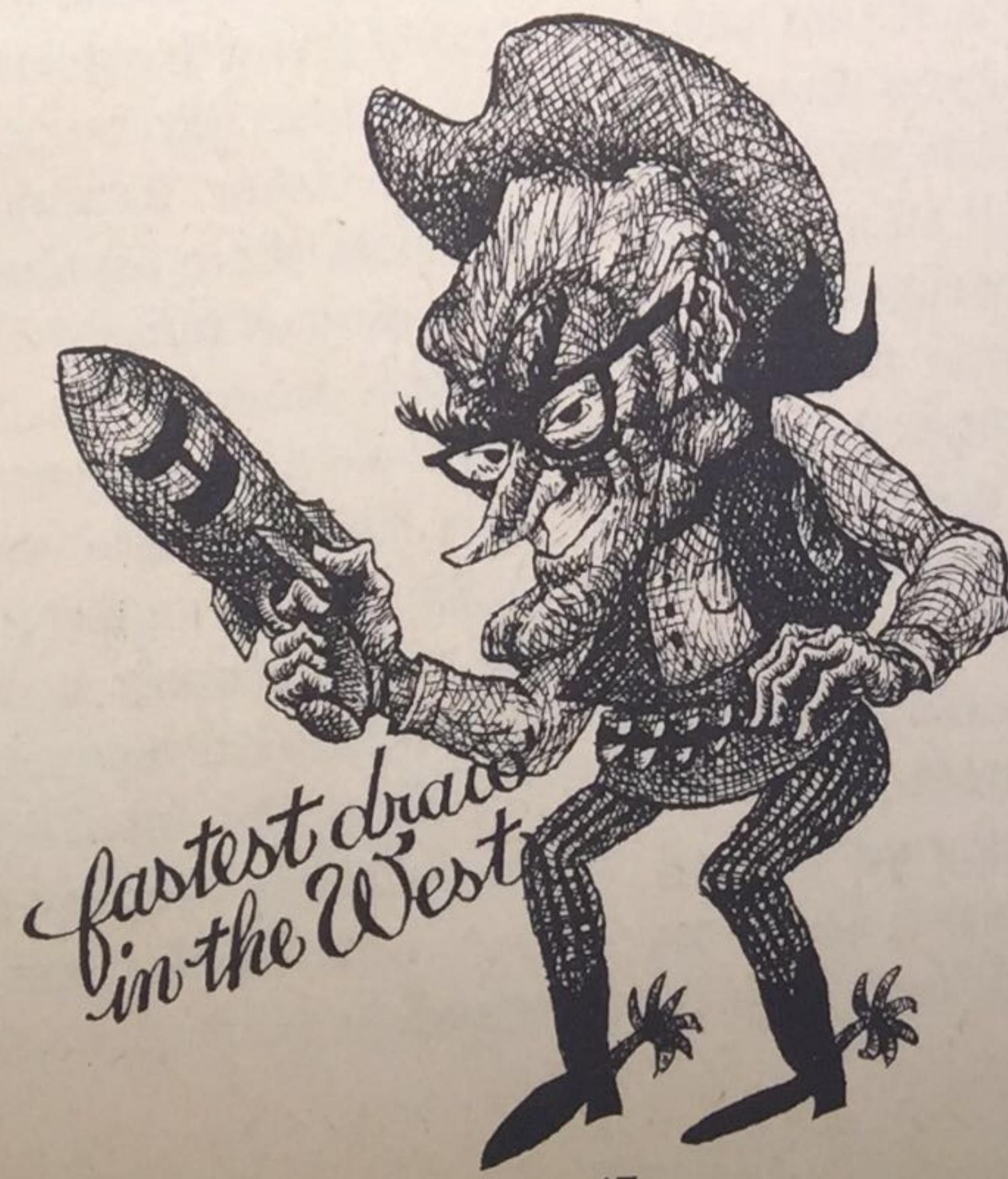
The insecure, the neurotics, the over-compensators are found among the socialists who would achieve equality by destroying individuality.

Richard B. Irvine, M.D.
Concord, Calif.

His poor hostility control, his rigidity, his uncompromising single-mindedness, his use of words with a private interpretation all lead me to believe that his judgment is faulty. Goldwater's two nervous breakdowns were probably paranoid schizophrenic in nature. That is, he probably had delusions of persecution. How would a President who had the delusion that the enemy had loosed a covey of missiles react? He would probably order our missiles launched and away we'd go!

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Chicago

It would be very important to know what Mr. Goldwater's two "nervous breakdowns" really were. They appear to have been depressive episodes, and there is strong evidence that Mr. Goldwater has hypomanic phases, with



symptoms of overactivity, irritability, profanity, etc. What is much more disturbing than his "breakdowns," however, is his thinking. It is difficult to judge whether he shares deeply the paranoid ideas of certain of his followers, but he seems to share the simplified approach to human problems typical of extremists of both the left and right.

Perhaps one day we will demand a standard of mental health in our representatives as we do in other spheres. Presidents of large corporations today demand psychological evaluations before hiring key executives. It would appear that running American businesses is more important than running the American government.

Oscar Sachs, M.D.
New York Psychoanalytic Institute
New York

I wonder if Goldwater's position on human rights isn't a strong denial of that minority part of his ancestry, the Jewish part, which has suffered so at the hands of people such as himself. (I myself am not Jewish.)

Anonymous
Beverly Hills, Calif.

The sort of marriage between psychiatry and politics you are proposing is utterly grotesque. Psychiatrists have no more to contribute to judging a political candidate than do movie actors to one cigarette brand over another. . . .

I would not be happy to see Mr. Goldwater elected but I do not think that that catastrophe would be really much greater than that already represented by our political system. . . . If Mr. Goldwater is elected it will simply mean that those of us who are really struggling with the human predicament—I know a number of them, and there must be a good many millions more—will simply have to work a little harder. And there is no catastrophe in that, only joy, and discovery.

I know that not all of my colleagues are going to see the meaning of your inquiry as I do and that some of them will respond to it at face value, exactly as you ask. But their doing so will seem to me shortsighted and utterly

wrong, and I am writing you this letter so that you may have at least one statement of a valid opposing viewpoint.

Robert C. Murphy, Jr., M.D.
Waverly, Pa.

I do not believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States because, wittingly or unwittingly, he tends to bring out the latent paranoid tendencies which exist in a rather large percentage of the population. That is, he tends to incite vague fears (Big Government, Communists running this or that organization, etc.) and tends to project blame onto others. Also, he tends to feel victimized as a result of imagined difficulties or minor discomforts. . . . Goldwater is the champion of paranoid, who, in extreme cases, see him as a Messiah sent to save them from these imagined threats (which are actually their own latent paranoid projections). For the first time in a national election these people have a champion of their own and they are making the most of it.

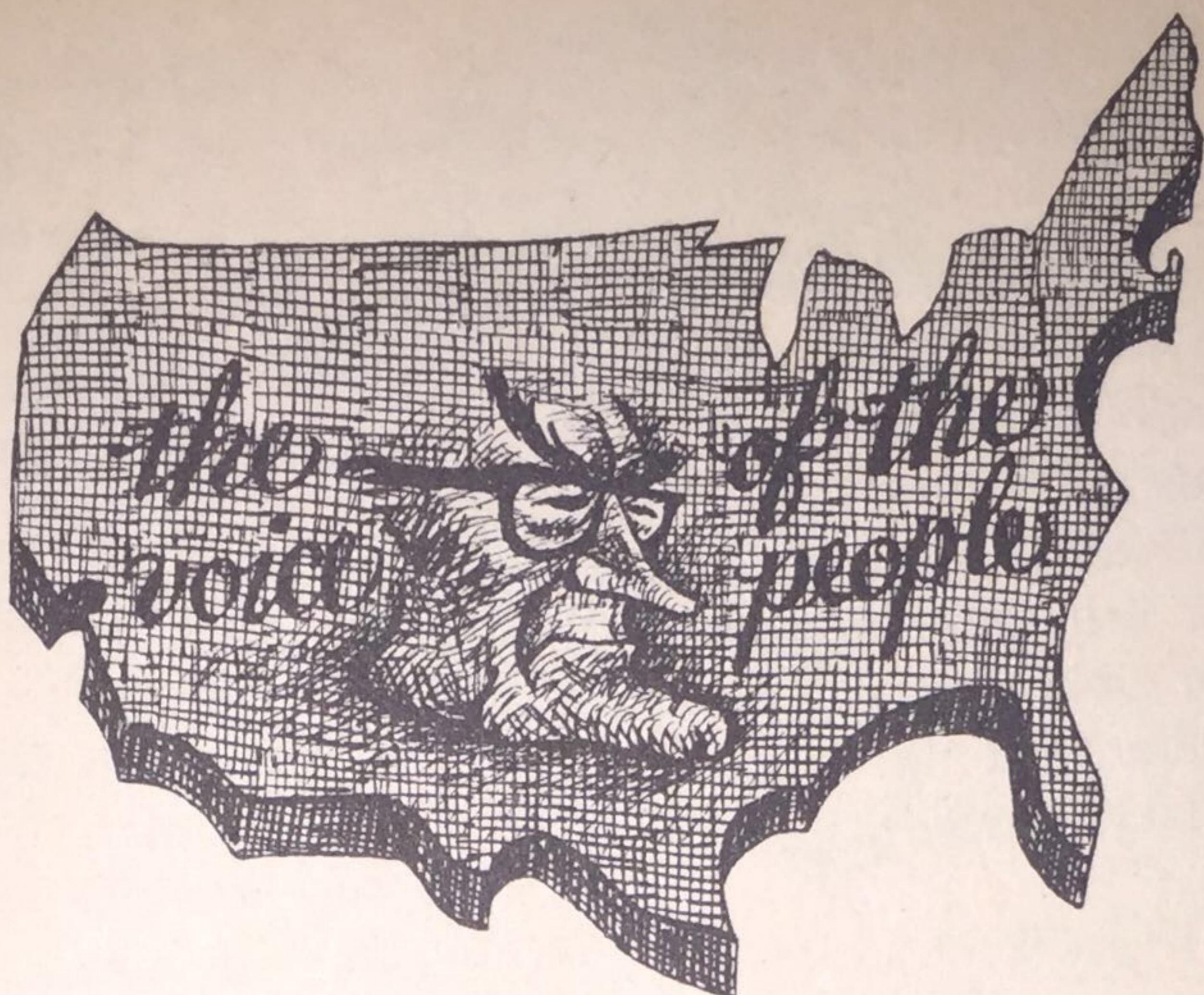
The danger is that those citizens who are usually more stable will have their latent paranoid tendencies aroused to the extent of also seeing Goldwater as a savior.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
St. Louis

If Goldwater were elected, there would undoubtedly be an emotional maturation that goes with the responsibility of the office and the added growth of the ego under such circumstances.

Neither Truman nor Johnson were prepared in their psychological make-up to fill the Presidential image. There are many individuals capable under the specific stress of leadership suddenly thrust upon them to rise to the occasion. Under battle conditions, a lowly corporal as the highest ranking survivor will—even without the necessary training—step into the shoes of the platoon leader.

It is the intellectual community that has the disturbed attitude about Senator Goldwater. The roots of this are deep and all-pervading. Gifted and creative people have always found



in greater security under a paternalistic system, whether it be a university, corporation, or a social government. Their relative inability to adopt the mechanisms of a competitive society gave them the justification to look with horror on the so-called excesses of the free enterprise economy. For in business other values seem to operate. It is not the one with the most knowledge but the one with the most daring who will achieve recognition.

Since the intellectual has a better command for expression of ideas than his bustling and freewheeling counterpart in our society, the risk-taking entrepreneur, the literature and the news media will then reflect more his basic philosophy of life. His tendency will be to idealize man as a noble creature born equal, but only an imperfect society has made it difficult or impossible for all to achieve the same high goals. . . .

Senator Goldwater represents, irrespective of his statements, the individualistic and self-sufficient human being who prefers to rely upon his own resources rather than be supported by a paternalistic agency. This is in keeping with the original pioneer spirit and Yankee ingenuity. One could argue about the place of such attitudes in a modern society with all its complexities.

There is, however, abundant proof of the superiority of individual enterprises over government-controlled ventures. The efficiency

of the privately worked backyard garden plot in producing vegetable crops in satellite countries as compared with the state-controlled agricultural communes is just one such example. The species *genus homo* behaves in a certain predictable way and no amount of theory or idealism will erase the fundamental facts of his biological adaptations.

Yes, I think Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to be President.

Adolphe D. Jonas, M.D.
New Rochelle, N.Y.

Barry Goldwater is absolutely not fit to serve as President! Unconsciously, he seems to want to destroy himself. He has a good start, for he has already destroyed the Republican party. Further evidence of his self-destructiveness is his suggestion to defoliate trees in Vietnam, which would probably lead to nuclear war. His suggestion that we push Castro and Khrushchev to the brink is also evidence of self-destructive tendencies. What does he expect them to do, get off the planet?

In short, I see too many self-destructive elements in this man to let him lead our country. Whether or not these are connected with his prior mental illness I am not prepared to say. The fact that he has had two "nervous breakdowns" is a very general statement. To psychiatrists, a nervous breakdown usually means a psychotic illness and the residues of

psychosis are lifelong. What Goldwater might do under stress of the Presidency, I would not like to speculate.

I am not bigoted against mental illness. Rather, I am for mental health. I believe the leader of our country should be in the best of mental health. He is dealing not only with himself and his family, but with all mankind.

In closing, I cannot help but comment upon the parallel between Goldwater and the rightist-extremists and Hitler and the Nazis. Hitler had his Jews, and Goldwater has his Negroes.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
San Francisco

What type of yellow rag are you operating? I have never in my life witnessed such a shabby attempt to smear a political candidate. I would suggest that you change the name of your magazine to "Fancy," or better, "Smear"!

Marvin J. Allison, M.D.
Richmond, Va.

Barry Goldwater is not more insane than Khrushchev who is also known for his temper-tantrums (e.g., banging the table with his shoes at the U.N.). Khrushchev is a shrewd, unscrupulous mass-murderer, while Barry Goldwater is known to be concerned for the human individual.

It is a historical truth that procrastination and retreat because of fear usually cause defeat and destruction. Instead of avoiding conflicts they *invite* them.

It is my conviction that Barry Goldwater will be a wise and courageous leader of this country.

K.B. Ertavi, M.D.
Rochester, N.Y.

Consistent with Goldwater's paranoid traits is his sensitivity to questions about his "honesty and integrity"—obvious unconscious substitutes for his masculinity. I have the feeling that if someone were consistently to question Goldwater about his masculinity in these terms he would lose control of himself. . . .

[Name Withheld], M.D.
San Francisco

If you will send me written authorization from Senator Goldwater and arrange for an appointment, I shall be happy to send you a report concerning his mental status.

The same goes for you.

Hubert Miller, M.D.
Detroit

As a board certified psychiatrist with considerable clinical experience, I cannot help but be responsive to shades and nuances of Gold-





water's personality as conveyed by television, newspapers, periodicals, etc. He frightens the hell out of me. It is obvious that his thinking is rigid. He lacks the ability to see more than one side of a problem. . . . I cannot help but feel that Mr. Goldwater is an unhappy man, inclined to see only the worst in people and to respond accordingly. As a human being he is to be pitied. As President of the United States he would be a disaster.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Seattle

Since the matter of psychological fitness of Goldwater has been brought into question, it behooves someone to make the same inquiry regarding the present incumbent. Does not his behavior behind the wheel of his automobile betray his lack of judgment and an irresponsibility sufficient to warrant impeachment?

I value my reputation as a psychiatrist but I am willing to stake it on the opinion that Barry Goldwater is eminently qualified—psychologically and in every other way—to serve as President of the United States.

Corbett H. Thigpen, M.D.
Associate Professor of Psychiatry,
Medical College of Georgia
Augusta, Ga.

P.S. I am one of the co-authors of the *Three Faces of Eve*.

I am greatly more alarmed by Goldwater than I ever was by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

No, I don't think Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States.

Frederick F. Boyes, M.D.
Berkeley, Calif.

I am a diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, a member of a psychoanalytic institute, and I hold teaching appointments in several hospitals and a medical school.

A "nervous breakdown" is a layman's term for describing a situation in which an individual—unable to support intolerable feelings about himself and unable to tolerate certain stresses—has escaped from his problems by developing symptoms. These symptoms, if the breakdown is severe, include great denial of reality and projection of the patient's own feelings onto others, so that the feelings seem to him to come from others. Such an individual has tremendous preoccupation with his own needs and has no awareness of the impact of his behavior upon others. . . .

Knowing that Mr. Goldwater had two nervous breakdowns would leave me in a constant state of fear were he to be elected. My experience with the mentally ill makes me realize that he could not control his feelings or restrain his aggressions were he to face situations of severe stress or opposition to his wishes.

Were he to say that he is now cured of his mental illness he would be in the same position

as a "cured" tuberculosis patient. The disease may have stopped making holes in his lungs but his lungs are already riddled with cavities and will never be as good as the lungs of a person who has never had tuberculosis.

The Presidency demands unusual emotional maturity and a great ability to withstand frustration and stress. So far, Mr. Goldwater has not displayed these qualities. Nor do they develop overnight or under fire.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Your "survey" raises doubts in my mind as to your psychological fitness to publish any national magazine, especially one named "FACT."

Edmund V. Cowdry, Jr., M.D.
St. Louis

Mr. Lincoln was also described by some authors in such a way as to question his emotional stability. It is my hope that Mr. Goldwater can do as much for the U.S.A. as did Pres. Lincoln.

Francis A. O'Donnell, M.D.
Colorado Springs, Colo.

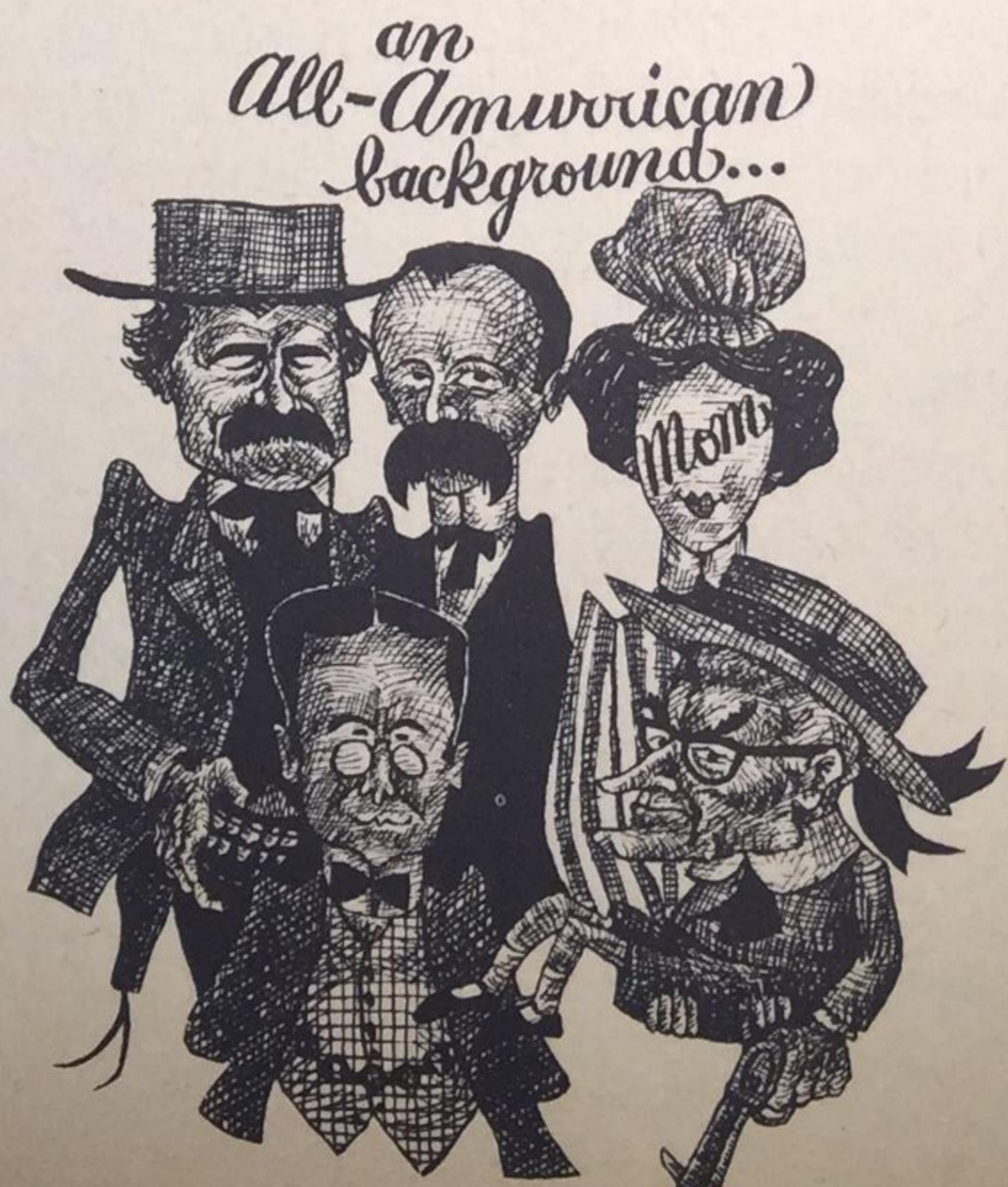
If psychiatry had been as popular a hundred years ago as it is today, Abraham Lincoln would have been subjected to the same question you now raise re Goldwater. Lincoln doubtless would have been seen by many of my group as

unfit to serve due to his having suffered a psychiatric illness previously. It would have been a tragedy to have thus prevented him from becoming President.

C.E. Carnahan, M.D.
Wilsonville, Ore.

As a Charter Subscriber to FACT and a solid fan since your first issue, I find it a great pleasure to participate in your survey.

In attempting to answer the question of a man's psychological fitness to serve as President, let us take the case of Abraham Lincoln, a man described by many who knew him as moody, gloomy, and melancholy; a man who suffered on at least two occasions from "periods of deepest gloom." One biographer states that during such episodes Lincoln almost went insane and had to be watched to be prevented from suicide. Had the medical authorities of Lincoln's day been aware of these facts, would they have considered him psychologically fit to serve as President? What would have been the correct judgment of this man who is revered as one of our greatest Presidents? What would have been the correct judgment of this man who during his lifetime apparently had, as would be described in lay terms, two "nervous breakdowns"? And what, we might add, is a "nervous breakdown"? This is a term which has been applied indiscriminately to the gamut of human emotional reactions, from mild anxiety and depression to severe mental illness.



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With such complex questions before us and such limited information to proceed on, reaching a professional conclusion regarding the psychological fitness of Barry Goldwater is a highly speculative venture. Being human, can we psychiatrists maintain the necessary detachment for a thoroughly unemotional, logical, and analytical point of view concerning a problem which involves us so intimately? I believe that we cannot. I believe that any opinion offered by myself or my colleagues will be, at best, an educated guess, issued from a cauldron of human hopes, fears, and prejudices, sparingly seasoned with cold logic and clear understanding.

Only with these formidable difficulties fully understood can I justifiably offer my own very fallible opinion: I believe that Senator Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States.

James E. Kirkham, Jr., M.D.
Houston

Would it not have been a shame to have had our country lose the services of Abraham Lincoln simply because he was subject to severe depressions? Would it not have been a shame to have our country lose the services of Woodrow Wilson simply because he, too, was extremely moody? The title of your magazine indicates an awesome obligation you are taking upon yourself. You propose to publish fact. Why don't you do just that? Any psychiatrist who expresses an opinion concerning the eligibility of either of the major candidates for the Presidency of the United States on the basis of news items can only be expressing an opinion. This can hardly be fact.

Roy C. Knowles, M.D.
Director, Minnehaha Guidance Center
Sioux Falls, S.Dak.

I feel that there is a notable lack of internal consistency in Mr. Goldwater's philosophy, which could well be interpreted when taken in association with his outbursts and loss of emotional control as evidence of a psychotic personality structure. I am more concerned with the character of his "nervous breakdowns" than that he had breakdowns. It seems to me that

Abraham Lincoln had "nervous breakdowns"—severe reactive depressions—and also was very unhappily married to a wife of questionable mental health. Yet Lincoln was a good President. Goldwater apparently has had quite a different sort of illness, with manic symptoms and loss of ego stability when under stress. I wonder too if we should not speak of *three* breakdowns and cite his inability to finish college.

Certainly the Presidency is the most stressful task that a man in our society can undertake. No person with questionable ego strength should be subjected to such stress.

As a lifelong Republican I have been debating leaving the Republican party at this time. Represented by Goldwater, it no longer represents my beliefs.

T.E. Powell, M.D.
Hampton Bays, N.Y.

News reports on Barry Goldwater indicate that he is an emotionally unstable, impulsive, inadequately informed, and opinionated individual. I would not want *any* public official to have any of these traits, and certainly not a President of the United States!

A history of two "nervous breakdowns," no matter what their nature or their supposed cause, is presumptive evidence of an emotionally-vulnerable personality. This is not the sort of person to be entrusted with the taxing and burdensome duties of the President of the United States. Some of my colleagues may point out that Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson—all of whom had their emotional difficulties—served well as Presidents. I say that if in the past such persons have successfully served in high places, we were just *lucky*!

Anonymous
Philadelphia

I feel that Goldwater's election would be a catastrophe for the nation and quite possibly would prelude the end of civilization. This sounds melodramatic, but in this age is not unrealistic.

I can tell you that I intend to work with all the energy I can possibly muster in a Republi-



cans-for-Johnson movement.

*Mary L.V. Schaeff, M.D.
St. Louis*

I do not think there is the slightest doubt that Senator Goldwater is well adjusted and attuned to reality. As a psychoanalyst with over 40 years experience, and with the opportunity of observing Goldwater at firsthand (though not as a personal or professional acquaintance but because I reside in the same general area as he) and with knowledge of his activities and thinking processes, I believe I am in a fairly good position to state that he is exceptionally well-adjusted and in tune with reality.

*Reginald B. Weiler, M.D.
Scottsdale, Ariz.*

I am constantly astounded at the inconsistencies of Goldwater's thinking. It would appear to me that he has a serious thinking disturbance, i.e., contradictory ideas exist side-by-side in consciousness. His rigidity and obvious obsession with power would label him as a dangerous individual and a threat to this country second only to Hitler at the beginning of the Third Reich!

*[Name Withheld], M.D.
Raleigh, N.C.*

I would consider Senator Goldwater to be an idealist and a patriot. He impresses me as a reserved individual who does not like to be

hounded by the press. I don't believe he has had temper-tantrums although he undoubtedly has been irritable at times and this is thoroughly understandable. I would consider him to be a modest man with considerable warmth but generally reserved and tending to keep his private life separate from public life. He will not stoop to underhanded maneuvering as has been done against him. . . . Incidentally, if you are going to base this report on the opinions of the psychiatrists in this country, you should make it clear that psychiatrists as a group are far more socialistic in their thinking than the medical profession at large. This is understandable because so much of psychiatry has already become socialized medicine.

*Robert L. Garrard, M.D.
Chief Psychiatrist, Cone Hospital
Greensboro, N.C.*

Goldwater has not only accepted and is advocating the national paranoid delusions of persecution and megalomania which are the Mein Kampf platform of the Birchers, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., he has even announced delusions of persecution in regard to his own person. There is no doubt that Mr. B.G. is mentally deranged.

The provocativeness and aggressiveness of personalities such as this candidate for the Presidency are based on their need for rough, violent contact, because they are incapable of tender contact. They also have to "shoot from

the hip" to prove a masculinity of which they are very much in doubt. This also explains the candidate's addiction to public temper-tantrums and his outbursts of profanity.

The core of the paranoid personality is usually his anality and latent homosexuality.

I did not know that B.G. had two nervous breakdowns so far, but I should not be surprised if the nomenclature "nervous breakdowns" is being used to camouflage outright psychotic episodes.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Chicago

NO psychiatrist of my personal acquaintance is less than alarmed at the Goldwater threat. . . . I only hope that the publication of psychiatric opinion will not react to throw more immature and unstable voters into the Goldwater camp. They might identify with him. You are aware that the whole mental-health movement has been under attack. . . . Goldwater's history of inadequate emotional control, his open advocating of the use of nuclear power, and his inability to abide by any one proclaimed stand make him a man truly to be feared should he get his fingers near those deadly push-buttons.

L.G. Lobb, M.D.
Patton, Calif.

Barry Goldwater seems to have a perfectly normal amount of aggressiveness. Within normal limits, aggression is highly desirable. No American wants a passive man as President.

Elizabeth W. Ayer, M.D.
Charleston, S.C.

Senator Goldwater impresses me as being a paranoid personality or a schizophrenic, paranoic type. I believe that he is full of destructive hostility and aggressiveness. I think he has fragile ego controls and extreme impulsivity.

No matter how compensated he may be at present, he is a potentially dangerous man.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Cornell Medical Centre
New York

Yes, I believe Goldwater is psychologically

fit. B.G. is disliked by most psychiatrists because, in my opinion, B.G. is disliked by Jews and in this country by far the majority of psychiatrists are Jewish. Has this something to do with the fact that B.G. is one-half Jewish?

E.B. Jackson, M.D.
Medical Director, Buffalo Psychiatric Clinic
Buffalo, N.Y.

Senator Goldwater seems to represent a relatively common type of personality disorder of an infantile narcissistic variety, prone to function in tyrannical dictatorial ways and to be susceptible to breakdowns because of immaturity.

I have very mixed feelings about a survey of this type, feeling on the one hand that psychological assessment of important candidates is an enormously significant issue, and on the other that it is subject to such risk and abuse that very careful methods for its application must be found.

William S. Horowitz, M.D.
Beverly Hills, Calif.

In times of severe psychological stress when the anxiety level is high and the problems extremely complex, there is a strong tendency for people to retreat to a primitive mode of thinking where reality is oversimplified, real dangers are denied, and solutions seen in all-or-nothing terms. Good and evil are viewed as absolutes, the self being the embodiment of good, the enemy (i.e., Communism) the embodiment of evil. In the regressed state there is a splitting of the ego, which allows projection and denial to take over and distort reality.

The phenomenon of Goldwater's popularity is psychological regression in a world grown too disorganized and complicated to be understood by certain groups of people whose personalities are brittle and easily threatened.

Senator Goldwater himself has tended to speak in absolutes and to advocate the all-or-nothing approach to problems characteristic of primitive thinking. There is an aura of grandiosity about him that I think is dangerous in a man of high office, and an attitude of false humility that suggests insincerity. His provoca-

tive use of the term "extremism" together with his ability to pacify a man like former President Eisenhower with doubletalk seem to indicate a clever deceptiveness, a lack of moral integrity, and an adherence to the philosophy that the end justifies the means.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Two previous nervous breakdowns, however slight or brief, should make us unwilling to trust Mr. Goldwater under the strain of the Presidency.

Ursula G. Stewart, M.D.
Franklin Square, N.Y.

An all-powerful paternal Federal government tends to create immature citizens who will almost surely lose the ability to care for themselves adequately with a subsequent loss of self-respect.

A good leader is not usually an individual who is "well adjusted" because without some discontent there can be no motivation to do anything more than attempt to maintain the *status quo*.

Yes, I do believe Barry Goldwater is psychologically fit to serve as President.

H. Frederick Adickes, Jr., M.D.
Charlotte, N.C.

I believe Goldwater has a mask of sanity covering an inner political madness. He is im-

pulsive and intemperate in his remarks. His need to show himself as strong and manly probably indicates doubts as to his masculinity. Since his nomination, I find myself increasingly thinking of the early 1930s and the rise of another intemperate, impulsive, counterfeit figure of a masculine man, namely, Adolf Hitler.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Atlanta

Although I heartily agree with about 80% of Goldwater's professed program, I very much fear his rash, impulsive outbursts. On the domestic front these outbursts could be rectified, probably, but in international relations it would be like walking a chronic suicidal tightrope.

J.F.E., M.D.
Butner, N.C.

. . . In Barry Goldwater, one can sense a strong sense of underlying rage, a compulsive need to prove his masculinity, and a compulsive need to receive parental and particularly maternal approval. This was manifest at the G.O.P. convention in Goldwater's preoccupation with the effect of his nomination upon his wife. . . . His statement about justified extremism showed that, although like most politicians he is opportunistic, he is unable to control his need to find people and institutions upon which he can displace his enormous unconscious rage. Many people have this unconscious rage but in



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most of us the development of our conscience (superego) is sufficient to keep this well under control. But in Barry Goldwater it is too close to the surface. Therefore, he is an extremely dangerous man.

I would like to stress that I am presenting a personal opinion, as I have not in any way been involved with Mr. Goldwater in a professional capacity.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

I served as flight surgeon in the U.S.A.F. I speak with authority when I say that Senator Goldwater could not be a jet pilot if he were emotionally unstable.

Wilbert A. Lyons, M.D.
Sellersville, Pa.

I get the clinical impression that Goldwater may well be a chronic schizophrenic. One does not have two isolated nervous breakdowns at the age Goldwater had them except in the case of psychotic depression in a schizophrenic. . . . Just as Eisenhower had a medical work-up to show his physical health, Goldwater should have a psychological battery to show his mental stability. Goldwater supporters point to the fact that he flies jets and say that this proves his mental stability. This is poppycock. The Armed Services do no significant psychiatric work-up on their officers and only get rid of them when they are overtly psychotic. Covert-psychotics—

which Goldwater probably is—never get picked up by superficial Armed Services tests. . . . Oswald qualified for the Marines, didn't he? Incidentally, with a history of two nervous breakdowns, Mr. Goldwater could not get life insurance without a rider for mental illness. I might add that I am a registered Republican but will not vote for Goldwater.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Goldwater is devoted to one of the basic principles upon which this country was built: *He who does not work shall not eat*. Every week in my clinical practice I see potentially productive and self-respecting human beings joining the ranks of the needy because a paternalistic Federal government through "welfare" hand-outs encourages their infantile dependency needs. It is immoral for a government to encourage its citizens to abandon responsibility for themselves. Yet this is precisely what the Federal government is doing, controlled by a ponderous and self-serving bureaucracy far distant from the people in need of help. Far from seeming callous to the downtrodden and needy, Senator Goldwater has an abiding respect for their human dignity and an unshakable resolve not to exploit their weaknesses for political and emotional gain. . . .

Since it seems likely that some of the Senator's political foes will try to smear him on the

subject of his mental health, I would like to make one further comment on the phenomena of "nervous breakdowns." I have seen some people, particularly in their late teens and early twenties, go through major mental illnesses of the type we describe as schizophrenia, recover and go on to lead more open, creative, happy and productive lives than they could possibly have managed without experiencing the refinement of their spirits in the fiery crucible of psychosis. There are a number of theoretical explanations for this but I would merely like to record the observation that it occurs.

Dr. Karl Menninger, in his book *Vital Balance* (page 406), comments on this phenomenon and mentions several extraordinarily creative, productive, and stable people who rose to greatness after suffering a major mental disorder. One of these was Abraham Lincoln.

Otis J. Woodard, Jr., M.D.
Albany, Ga.

I feel very strongly that Senator Goldwater, in view of his erratic statements and attitudes, and especially in view of his previous "breakdowns," would be a menace to the peace and security of the world if he were President. . . .

His grandiose manner and God-like self-image border on the pathologic. Even if he is an honorable apostle of conservatism (as he claims), the prospect of a man previously susceptible to disintegration under stress being the person with the red telephone on his desk sends icy chills down my spine.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Word slips during his talks lead me to feel Senator Goldwater is grandiose and unstable, with tremendous self-investment.

I feel he is destructive to himself and would be to others. His popularity is based on the fears and prejudices of people in the Southern and Western United States.

Otto N. Raths, Jr., M.D.
Chief Psychiatrist, V.A. Hospital
Assoc. Professor of Psychiatry, Univ. of Minn.
St. Paul

I have been somewhat concerned about the ethics of collecting this kind of expert opinion about a Presidential candidate, but finally my anxiety over Goldwater's candidacy has overcome my ethical objections. I find him to be a latter-day Miniver Cheevy, way out of touch with the realities of the nuclear age. He is possessed of a dangerous nostalgia for a 19th century which he sees as a Golden Age when in fact it was a time of great suffering and hardship. Goldwater's statements are impulsive, illogical, and divorced from generally accepted word usage, as when he uses the term "conventional nuclear weapons." His intelligence appears to be far below that of any Presidential candidate I have ever known about. He has no sense of historical development. If his "nervous breakdowns" mean that he was hospitalized for psychiatric reasons, I think this alone should disqualify him for the Presidency, or any other high executive position.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

The funny thing about this puerile survey of yours is that I was on the point of subscribing to your magazine on the advice of a relative. This raises the question of emotional illness within my own family.

Yes, I think Goldwater is mentally healthy.

Anonymous
Boston

Goldwater sees the world as good vs. evil, black vs. white, etc. This kind of behavior and thinking is typical of age 2-3 years, the anal period of development. This could explain the outbursts of profanity (use of "anal" words, curse words). Destructiveness with grandiosity (omnipotence fantasies) are also typical of this age. It seems clear to me that Senator Goldwater has a significant part of his personality engaged in struggling with these infantile fantasies and conflicts over them. . . .

Your questions present the frustrations psychiatrists always face. We can understand a great deal about human behavior in the same sense a geologist can understand a volcano. Un-

fortunately, we are as little able to control the phenomena we understand as is the geologist able to control an erupting volcano. We can only try and help modify the individual patients who come of their own volition and place themselves into the therapeutic or analytic situation. If only people would listen to what I sketched above regarding Goldwater's personality—if only they could understand on the same level as I, but alas—I am dreaming. The one salvation may be the intuitive wisdom of our people as Goldwater exposes himself more to public scrutiny. Unfortunately, it seems that the professional politicians surrounding him have shrewdly gotten him to just keep his mouth shut while they pull the strings.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Princeton, N.J.

I share your anxiety and agree with the motivation of your survey but I strongly disagree with your expectation that it will help defeat Goldwater. On the contrary, it might backfire and help achieve the opposite.

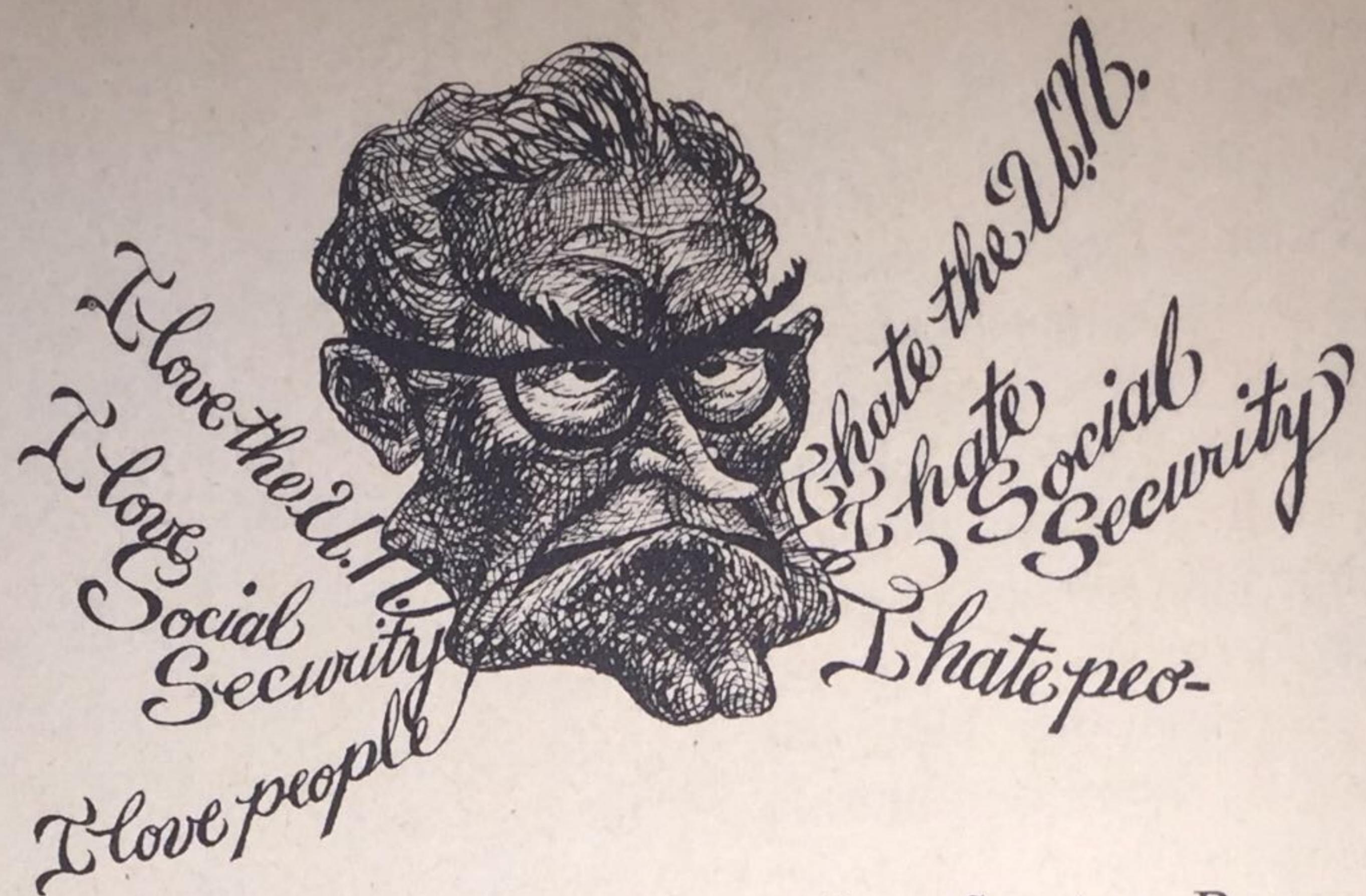
Before I give my reasons for saying this, permit me to introduce myself. I am a psychoanalyst and have practiced psychoanalysis for many years. Also, I spend much of my time as an administrator and teacher at a psychoanalytic training school. In addition, I am involved in projects with much broader social implications, such as teaching psychology to judges,

lawyers and other professionals. Throughout my career—and much more so recently—I have been deeply concerned with man's violence. I have studied, written about, and lectured on man's destructive potential.

What has all this got to do with FACT's questionnaire? First, I would like to say that on the basis of my experience I believe that the majority of the voting public does not know about psychiatrists and will not be influenced by what they have to say about Goldwater. On the contrary, the number of people who fear, mistrust, and resent psychiatrists (either because of ignorance or unconscious resistance) far exceeds those who heed them. Second, you are asking psychiatrists to make a diagnosis for use as a destructive weapon. I must tell you that this will reflect badly on psychiatrists who participate, not on Goldwater. Such long-range diagnosis cannot be made. I would have very little confidence in a psychiatrist who ventured a long-distance diagnosis about Goldwater. A psychiatrist must have an opportunity to examine a patient firsthand and must have access to his psychiatric records. Then, and only then, could he be justified in making a diagnosis or a prognosis of future behavior.

I must emphasize to you that a cornerstone of Freud's teaching was that psychoanalysis should be used only for understanding and therapy, never as a weapon. The temptation to do so is great, and because it frequently is so





used does not make it right. . . .

Mr. Goldwater attracts a large number of the kind of people who terrify me. I am equally, if not more, frightened by the uninterested, the unconcerned, and the cynical who refuse to see the danger his candidacy presents. They remind me painfully of the late '20s in Germany and early '30s in Vienna.

I shall do everything I can to help defeat Mr. Goldwater, but I shall point to his ideas, his statements, his political orientation, and his associations, not to his psychology. There is enough *political* evidence to defeat him with. I would like to see your magazine present *that* information, and not waste your energy and facilities on an approach which is neither right nor effective.

Lawrence J. Friedman, M.D.
Dean, Los Angeles Institute of Psychoanalysis
Los Angeles

While I believe it unfair for me as a psychiatrist to make comments on a person's stability based on public appearances only, I also feel that the issue is so important that even reasonable doubt as to the candidate's ability to perform should be stated, and I definitely do not think Barry Goldwater is fit to serve as President of the United States.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
New York

Your inquiry for a professional opinion re-

garding Senator Barry Goldwater's general mental stability is an insult to me. An inquiry of this type regarding any individual can only be based on ignorance of the field of psychiatry. No specialist could render such an opinion about anyone without personal examination.

It is my recommendation that you submit an immediate apology to me and to the other specialists to whom you so rashly submitted your inquiry.

Thomas W. Stach, M.D.
Assistant Psychiatrist,
Loyola University School of Medicine
Oak Brook, Ill.

Goldwater's speeches are waves of verbiage which have no clear-cut meaning and which resemble the written productions of schizophrenics.

His ways of handling anxiety (as at the Republican National Convention) are to deny, withdraw, and isolate himself, and symbolically escape into the "wild blue yonder" (as in his jet plane) or to concentrate on more nebulous communications with the unknown (via his ham radio).

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Gary, Ind.

If you really think Senator Goldwater is unfit to serve as President, how about L.B. Johnson with his lack of a clear line in foreign policies, his embarrassing attempts to please

everybody, and his total inability to express his viewpoints coherently and logically at press conferences? Some of his answers are not only pitiful but a humiliation for our great country.

Rita S. Glahn, M.D.
Staff Psychiatrist, Springfield State Hospital
Sykesville, Md.

Goldwater's view of life appears to be regressive, replete with infantile oversimplifications, bad guys (they) vs. good guys (us). His views are anachronistic and dangerous. In this nuclear age, international problems cannot be settled by a *High Noon* type of confrontation.

I see Goldwater as a paranoid character who is able to function under normal conditions but who is susceptible to psychotic regression under severe stress. If it is true, as alleged, that he has had two nervous breakdowns, I should consider that fact as confirming our worst fears about him. We know that previous breaks usually predispose to further collapse under great stress.

I would consider Goldwater's election to the Presidency a disaster.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Newark, N.J.

I consider Mr. Goldwater utterly unfit for the highest office of this country. He is emotionally unstable and mentally immature. Being incompetent to see reality as it is and unwilling and unable to make an honest attempt at ob-

jective evaluation, he is making his preconceived ideas (his so-called "principles"), his emotional needs and pet hatreds the basis for his thinking, talking, and acting. Though he calls himself a "conservative," he actually reflects the ideals of the lunatic fringe of the right.

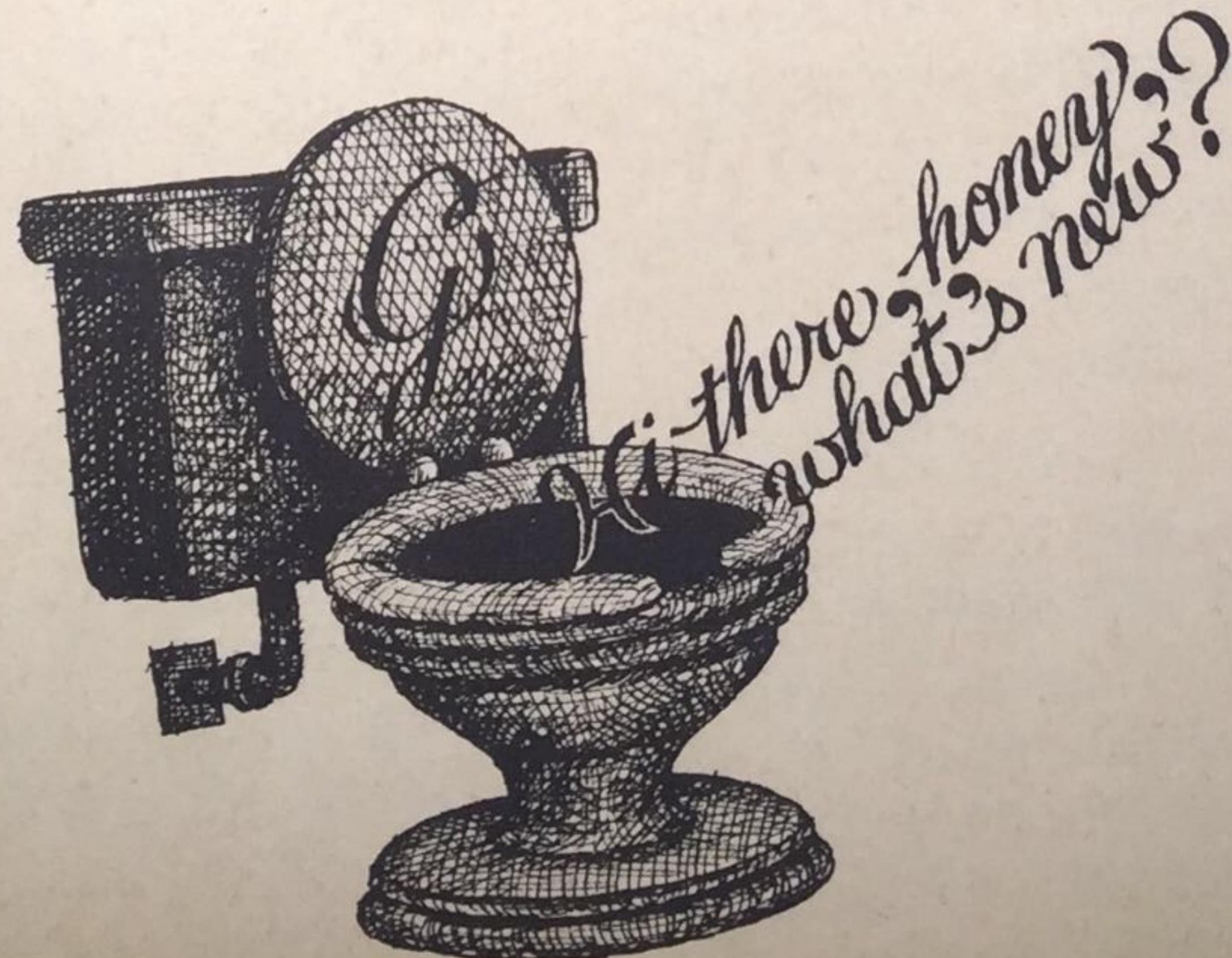
... His motivations are vanity and his political ambitions are not in keeping with the American way of life. Far from being a statesman, he is a dangerous political agitator who has an "easy" and instantaneous solution for the most complex and delicate problems (e.g., turn on the water in Cuba; use small atomic bombs in Vietnam; solve the problem of the poor by telling them they are stupid and lazy, etc., etc.). . . .

His election as President would spell disaster for our country and quite possibly for the rest of the world.

Henry A. Troy, M.D.
Oceanside, N.Y.

From what I have read about Goldwater's mother, she seems *not* to have been a giving, warm woman who would foster mutuality but rather one who would (perhaps prematurely) push a child to "be independent—be a man," etc.

One could speculate further that Goldwater had a rigid toilet-training period. He seems unalterably opposed to controls and authority (except in his own hands, of course). His theme is "freedom"—but from what? Unconsciously it appears to be from his mother's



domination.

Barry Goldwater is a sick man who is to be pitied and feared.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
San Rafael, Calif.

A public figure under close scrutiny by trained observers provides many clues to his personality, though these clues are not adequate for purposes of treatment.

The simplistic and impulsive, unreflective qualities evident in Goldwater are appropriate to a young child, a toddler. At this age an erratic but concentrated focus of stretching and exercising the early physical abilities—such as walking, handling, banging, breaking, and exploring—are dominant. Also characteristic is a negativistic individualism ("I'll do it mySELF!"). Failure to develop beyond this point may be aggravated by a mother with penis-envy who provides a confusing sexual example while encouraging grandiose protest behavior.

Such persons are not capable of negotiations in situations which involve real power. For this reason I do not believe Barry Goldwater is fit to serve as President of the United States.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Minneapolis

Barry Goldwater is psychologically unfit to serve as President. My clinical impression of him is that he is *paranoid*, with dominance of subjective views over objective. This is an attitude desirable for an aggressive salesman. . . .

Goldwater's mass appeal is great because he awakens the heroic in us. This psychological component has long been covered by the dust of civilian humdrum. After all, an entire generation has been deprived of a major war.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Pontiac, Mich.

I think Barry Goldwater is intellectually honest, reliable, consistent, and emotionally mature. . . . He recognizes and has the honesty to express the need to emancipate man's creative differences. He stands clearly for the promotion of equal opportunity regardless of color or creed but he does not exploit or encourage per-

sonal projection of "blame" on others.

His convictions, expressed and demonstrated, contrast with leaders who nourish the hardy weed of dependency in order to attain political position.

Paul S. Jarrett, M.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychiatry,
University of Miami
Miami

I am struck by Goldwater's inability to associate one thought with another. This indicates dominance of his thinking by his unconscious. He has the tendency to project his hostility to the world around him, which he perceives as hostile and threatening. His tendency to project hostility is denied and rationalized as protection of the American way of life. These mechanisms—the tendency to deny, project, and rationalize—are characteristic of individuals who are classified as paranoid.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Topeka, Kans.

As I see it, Goldwater tends to make dramatic remarks, somewhat exaggerated for purposes of emphasis. Those who take the trouble to study his further elaborations of his views are finding that he is not foolish, impulsive, or destructively aggressive. He is attempting to revive interest in the conservative philosophy of politics in the United States. I think it rather hasty, impulsive and dangerous to jump to the conclusion that he is mentally ill. . . .

In measuring his state of mental health, one must be impressed by his successful business career before politics, his successful functioning in Congress, and his very successful campaign to win the nomination of the Republican party despite very heavy opposition from powerful interests. Admittedly, there have been some outstanding tyrants in history who were similarly successful. However, Goldwater seems interested in reducing the power of the Federal government, not increasing it, so I have little fear of his being another Hitler (I am more concerned about the opposition in that respect). Goldwater does not have the fanatic quality of the late Senator McCarthy who might have ap-

proached having a recognizable psychiatric condition.

Finally, regarding his alleged "two nervous breakdowns," this term is a very loose one. A person would certainly have to know what kind of nervous breakdowns Goldwater may have had. It is well-known that President Lincoln was subject to severe depressions which could definitely have been considered pathological. I have heard little talk about the qualifications of Lincoln for the Presidency.

Richard R. Parlour, M.D.
Supervisor of Psychiatric Research
Mt. Sinai Hospital
Los Angeles

Goldwater seems to identify with people who condone violence and hatred. I suspect that he gets vicarious satisfaction out of tolerating them. This is the secret of his attractiveness to such people.

David B. Barron, M.D.
Chicago

I believe Goldwater is grossly psychotic. His statements reveal a serious thinking disorder. . . . He is grandiose, which is suggestive of delusions of grandeur. He is suspicious, suggestive of paranoia. He is impulsive, suggesting that he has poor control over his feelings and that he acts on angry impulses. This *alone* would make him *extremely* psychologically unfit to serve as President. A President *must not act on impulse!* But in addition, he *consciously* wants to destroy the world with atomic bombs. He is a mass-murderer at heart and a suicide. He is *amoral and immoral*. A dangerous lunatic!

Signed: A board-certified psychiatrist
Stamford, Conn.

P.S. Any psychiatrist who does not agree with the above is himself psychologically unfit to be a psychiatrist.

I believe it is a serious mistake to focus on Mr. Goldwater's emotional stability or lack thereof. Further, I believe that this allusion to "two nervous breakdowns" represents a kind of unfairness and bigotry which also seem to be present in the Republican campaign. Fanatics

already have attacked mental-health programs as "Communist-inspired" and I suggest that the pursuit of these "nervous breakdowns" is a similar tactic.

Let us condemn, as I do, Mr. Goldwater for appealing to everything that is base, primitive, and infantile in everyone and for exploiting these feelings to political advantage.

Mr. Goldwater evokes and appeals to blind hatred, envy, greed, omnipotence, and omniscience. He and his followers seem to expect the world to follow their dictates or he will kill them all with the bomb. A very young child who can't bend adults to his will also threatens to kill them. A child believes in his omnipotence. He also believes he can restore his thwarters to life. Mr. Goldwater and his followers should know better. Death is forever.

It is on the basis of their infantile, unreasoning, and their unreasonable, political beliefs that Mr. Goldwater and his mob should be condemned and, I hope, overwhelmingly defeated in the still free elections of 1964.

[Name Withheld], M.D.
Pittsburgh

In my opinion Senator Goldwater is a highly motivated, patriotic American. I feel that actually he has shown remarkable restraint in the face of the many slanderous attacks upon him. I feel that he is a mature, emotionally stable individual who is eminently qualified to hold the office of President of the United States and to lead in the fight against socialism and the forces of the far left, which seem so strongly entrenched in our present government.

John M. Murphy, M.D.
La Mesa, Calif.

The most essential requirement for a President is the ability to make sound decisions. . . . A single wrong decision by him could plunge the nation into war and destroy civilization.

There are several reasons to doubt Senator Goldwater's decision-making ability. Many of his public statements reveal impulsiveness. He admittedly "shoots from the hip" frequently. He has allegedly had two nervous breakdowns, but the details of these episodes have been con-

cealed from the public. The term "nervous breakdown" is a nontechnical term which usually means an acute psychosis, either schizophrenia or manic-depressive. Individuals who have had such illnesses have proved their inability to withstand stress. Characteristically, the ability to make wise judgments under stress is impaired in these illnesses. . . .

It is indeed unfortunate that the American public understands so little of mental illness that a man could become a candidate for the nation's highest office without these facts becoming common knowledge.

James A. Hamilton, M.D.
Stanford University Hospital
Palo Alto, Calif.

As you well know, personality assessments have been made on many people *in absentia* and some have been painstakingly and well done. However, at best these contain large elements of speculation and since they usually involve people long dead they do not have the implications inherent in a similar "study" of a living person. . . .

Eugene G. Goforth, M.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychiatry,
University of Washington
Seattle

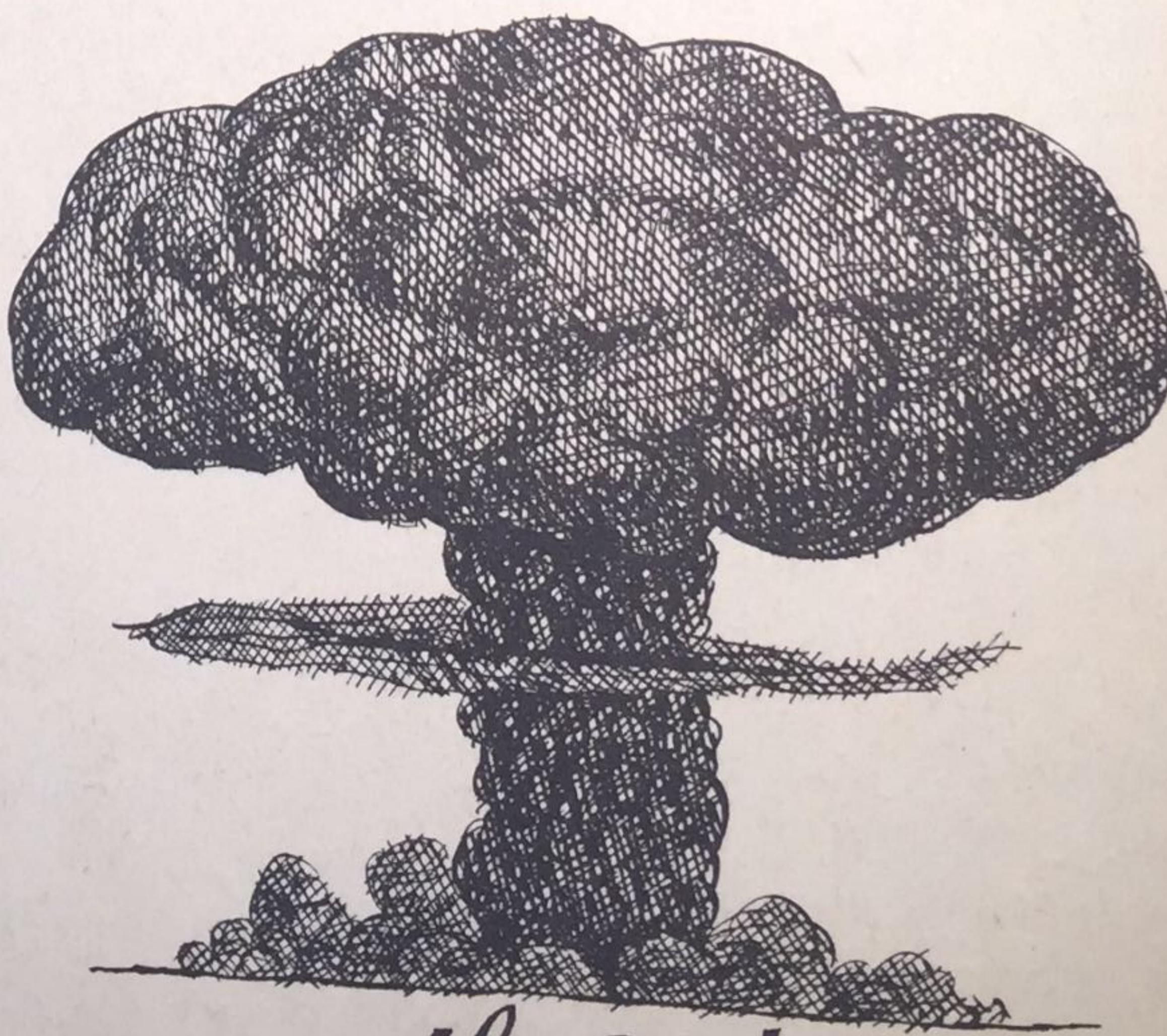
Goldwater is a man of low character, a coward, weak, insecure, confused, with no con-

structive social program and no understanding for the needs of humanity, a man who has mocked the ideals of his ancestors, a Jew who is refusing to other minorities the same elementary civil rights for which his ancestors fought, died and were exiled, a man who has forgotten that his grandfather and brothers lived in ghettos, couldn't attend school, couldn't socialize, were pogromed and decimated because of their race, a man so cowardly and so afraid and so emotionally disturbed that he has identified with his hereditary tormentors and strives to become one of them.

His allies and supporters, the Birchites, the KKK, and other lunatic criminals are the same sadistic individuals who tormented and killed his ancestors. They exist in all nations under different names and masks, then and now.

How can a man, a Jew, with such a glorious and sacred tradition as the service of humanity through the centuries, embrace the cause of evil? I will tell you how. His two "complete nervous breakdowns" give us the answer. Such a man is sick, down deep into his structure, morality and blood. He would be a calamity to himself, his friends, his country and to humanity if he ever becomes President of the U.S.A.

Anonymous
New York



the End

not for squares

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110 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018

fact

What Psychiatrists Say about Goldwater:

“B.G. is in my opinion emotionally unstable, immature, volatile, unpredictable, hostile, and mentally unbalanced. He is totally unfit for public office and a menace to society....”

“My clinical impression is that he is a paranoid personality with dominance of subjective views over objective....”

“His two ‘nervous breakdowns’ absolutely disqualify him for office, for these have a marked tendency to recur even after the lapse of decades....”

“While I heartily believe that we should hire the handicapped, I hardly think that a man who has suffered two nervous breakdowns should be given the job of President as occupational therapy.”

“It would appear that Barry had a stronger identification with his mother than with his father....”

“His theme is ‘freedom’—but from what? Unconsciously, it seems to be from his mother’s domination....”

“B.G.’s proneness to aggressive behavior and destructiveness indicates an attempt to prove his manliness....”

“The Presidency should not be used as a platform for proving one’s manhood....”

“Inwardly he is a frightened person who sees himself as weak and threatened by strong virile power around him—and his call for aggressiveness and the need for individual strength and prerogatives is an attempt to defend himself against and to deny his feelings of weakness and danger....”

“Since his nomination I find myself increasingly thinking of the early 1930s and the rise of another intemperate, impulsive, counterfeit figure of a masculine man, namely, Adolf Hitler....”

“Unconsciously he seems to want to destroy himself. He has a good start, for he has already destroyed the Republican party....”

“He consciously wants to destroy the world with atomic bombs. He is a mass-murderer at heart and a suicide. He is amoral and immoral. A dangerous lunatic!”

“Goldwater is a man of low character, a coward, weak, insecure, confused, with no constructive social program and no understanding for the needs of mankind. A man who has mocked the ideals of his ancestors, a Jew who is refusing to other minorities the same elementary civil rights for which his ancestors fought, died, or were exiled, a man so cowardly that he has identified with his hereditary tormentors and strives to become one of them.... He would be a calamity to himself, to his friends, and to humanity if he ever becomes President of the U.S.A.”

“As a human being he is to be pitied. As President of the United States he would be a disaster....”

“AuH₂O + (E=mc²) ➔ obliteration”